THE

ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE

CITY OF ROME,

TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE

WESTERN EMPIRE.

By Dr. GOLDSMITH.

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VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THERE are ſome ſubjects on which a writer muſt decline all attempts to acquire fame, ſatisfied with being obſcurely uſeful. After ſuch a number of Roman Hiſtories, in almoſt all languages, ancient and modern, it would be but impoſture to pretend new diſcoveries, or to expect to offer any thing in a work of this kind, which has not been often anticipated by others. The facts, which it relates, have been an hundred times repeated, and every occurrence has been ſo variouſly conſidered, that learning can ſcarce find a new anecdote, or genius give novelty to the old.

I hope, therefore, for the reader's indulgence, if in the following attempt it ſhall appear, that my only aim was to ſupply a conciſe, plain, and unaffected narrative of the riſe and decline of a well known empire; I was contented to make ſuch a book as could not fail of being

ſerviceable, though of all others the moſt unlikely to promote the reputation of the writer. Inſtead, therefore, of preſſing forward among the ambitious, I only claim the merit of knowing my own ſtrength, and falling back among the hindmoſt ranks, with conſcious inferiority.

I am not ignorant, however, that it would be no difficult taſk to purſue the ſame arts by which many dull men, every day, acquire a reputation in hiſtory; ſuch might eaſily be attained, by fixing on ſome obſcure period to write upon, where much ſeeming erudition might be diſplayed, almoſt unknown, becauſe not worth remembering; and many maxims in politicks might be advanced entirely new, becauſe altogether falſe. But I have purſued a contrary method, chooſing the moſt noted period in hiſtory, and offering no remarks but ſuch as I thought ſtrictly true.

The reaſons of my choice were, that we had no hiſtory of this ſplendid period in our language, but what was either too voluminous for common uſe, or too meanly written to pleaſe. Catrou and Rouille's hiſtory in ſix volumes, folio, tranſlated into our language by Bundy, is entirely unſuited to the time and expence mankind uſually chooſe to beſtow upon this ſubject: Rollin, and his continuator, Crevier, making above thirty volumes octavo, ſeem to labour under the ſame imputation; as likewiſe

Hooke, who has ſpent three quartos upon the republick alone; the reſt of his undertaking remaining unfiniſhed. There only, therefore, remained the hiſtory by Echard, in five volumes octavo, whoſe plan and mine ſeemed to coincide; and had his execution been equal to his deſign, it had precluded the preſent undertaking. But the truth is, it is ſo poorly written, the facts ſo crowded, the narration ſo ſpiritleſs, and the characters ſo indiſtinctly marked, that the moſt ardent curioſity muſt cool in the peruſal; and the nobleſt tranſactions that ever warmed the human heart, as deſcribed by him, muſt ceaſe to intereſt.

I have endeavoured, therefore, in the preſent work (or rather compilation) to obviate the inconveniencies ariſing from the exuberance of the former, as well as from the unpleaſantneſs of the latter. It was ſuppoſed, that two volumes might be made to comprize all that was requiſite to be known, or pleaſing to be read, by ſuch as only examined Hiſtory, to prepare them for more important ſtudies. Too much time may be given even to laudable purſuits, and there is none more apt than this, to allure the ſtudent from more neceſſary branches of learning, and, if I may ſo expreſs it, entirely to engroſs his induſtry. What is here offered, therefore, may be ſufficient for all, but ſuch as make Hiſtory the peculiar buſineſs of their lives;

of the world riſing from the meaneſt origin, and growing great by a ſtrict veneration for religion, and an implicit confidence in its commanders; continually changing the mode, but ſeldom the ſpirit of its government; being a conſtitution, in which the military power, whether under the name of citizens or ſoldiers, almoſt always prevailed; adopting all the improvements of other nations with the moſt indefatigable induſtry, and ſubmitting to be taught by thoſe whom it afterwards ſubdued: this is a picture that muſt affect us, however it be diſpoſed; theſe materials muſt have their value, under the hand of the meaneſt workman.

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HISTORY

OF THE

Commonwealth of Rome.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Origin of the Romans.

ALL nations ſeem ambitious of deriving merit from the ſplendour of their original; and where hiſtory is ſilent, they generally ſupply the defect with fable. The Romans were particularly deſirous of being thought deſcended from the gods, in order to hide the meanneſs of their real anceſtry. Æneas, the reputed ſon of Venus and Anchiſes, having eſcaped from the deſtruction of Troy, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy, where he was kindly received by A. M. 2284.

Latinus, king of the Latins, who gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Italy was then, as it is now, divided into a number of ſmall ſtates, independent of each other, and therefore ſubject to frequent contentions among themſelves. Turnus, king of the Rutuli, was the firſt who oppoſed Æneas, he having long made pretenſions to Lavinia. A war enſued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and Turnus ſlain. In conſequence of this, Æneas built a city, which was called Lavinium, in honour of his wife; and ſome time after, engaging in another war againſt Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquiſhed in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years. Aſcanius, his ſon, ſucceeded to the kingdom; and to him Silvius, a ſecond ſon, whom he had by Lavinia. It would be tedious and unintereſting to recite a dry catalogue of the kings that followed, and of whom we know little more than the names: it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the ſucceſſion continued for near four hundred years in the family; and that Numitor, the fifteenth from Æneas, was the laſt king of Alba.

Numitor, who took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, in conſequence of his father's will, had a brother, named Amulius, to whom were left the treaſures which had been brought from Troy. As riches but too generally prevail againſt right,

right, Amulius made uſe of his wealth to ſupplant his brother, and ſoon found means to poſſeſs himſelf of the kingdom. Not content with the crime of uſurpation, he added that of murther alſo. Numitor's ſons firſt fell a ſacrifice to his ſuſpicions; and to remove all apprehenſions of being one day diſturbed in his power, he cauſed Rhea Silvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a veſtal virgin; which office obliging her to perpetual celibacy, made him leſs uneaſy as to the claims of poſterity.

His precautions, however, were all fruſtrated in the event; for Rhea Silvia, going to fetch water from a neighbouring grove, was met and raviſhed by a man, whom, perhaps to palliate her offence, ſhe averred to be Mars, the god of war. Whoever this lover of her's might have been, whether ſome perſon who deceived her by aſſuming ſo great a name, or Amulius himſelf, as ſome writers affirm, it is impoſſible to determine; certain it is, that in due time ſhe was brought to bed of two boys, who were no ſooner born, than devoted, by the uſurper, to deſtruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the uſual puniſhment for veſtals who had violated their chaſtity, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river Tyber. It happened, at the time this rigorous ſentence was put into execution, that the river had more than uſually overflowed its banks, ſo that the

place where the children were thrown being at a diſtance from the main current, the water was too ſhallow to drown them. In this ſituation, therefore, they continued without harm; and, that no part of their preſervation might want its wonders, we are told, that they were for ſome time ſuckled by a wolf, until Fauſtulus, the king's herdſman, finding them thus expoſed, brought them home to Acca Laurentia, his wife, who nurſed them as her own. Some, however, will have it, that the nurſe's name was Lupa, which gave riſe to the ſtory of their being nouriſhed by a wolf; but it is needleſs to weed out a ſingle improbability from accounts where the whole is overgrown with fable.

Romulus and Remus, the twins thus ſtrangely preſerved, ſeemed early to diſcover abilities and deſires above the meanneſs of their ſuppoſed original. The ſhepherd's life began to diſpleaſe them; and, from tending flocks or hunting wild beaſts, they ſoon turned their arms againſt the robbers round the country, whom they often ſtripped of their plunder, and ſhared it among their fellow ſhepherds.

In one of theſe excurſions, Remus was taken priſoner by Numitor's herdſmen, who brought him before the king, and accuſed him of the crime which he had ſo often attempted to ſuppreſs. Romulus, however, being informed by Fauſtulus of his real birth, was not

remiſs

remiſs in aſſembling a number of his fellow ſhepherds, in order to reſcue his brother from priſon, and force the kingdom from the hands of the uſurper. Yet being too feeble to act openly, he directed his followers to aſſemble near the place by different ways, while Remus with equal vigilance gained upon the citizens within. Amulius, thus beſet on all ſides, and not knowing what expedient to think of for his ſecurity, was, during his amazement and diſtraction, taken and ſlain; while Numitor, who had been depoſed forty-two years, recognized his grandſons, and was once more reſtored to the throne.

Numitor being thus in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, his grandſons reſolved to build a city upon thoſe hills where they had formerly lived as ſhepherds. The king had too many obligations to them not to approve their deſign; he appointed them lands, and gave permiſſion to ſuch of his ſubjects as thought proper, to ſettle in their new colony. Many of the neighbouring ſhepherds alſo, and ſuch as were fond of change, repaired to the intended city, and prepared to raiſe it. For the more ſpeedy carrying on this work, the people were divided into two parts; each of which, it was ſuppoſed, would induſtriouſly emulate the other. But what was deſigned as an advantage, proved nearly fatal to this infant colony; it gave birth to two

factions, one preferring Romulus, the other Remus, who themſelves were not agreed upon the ſpot where the city ſhould ſtand. To terminate this difference, they were adviſed by the king, to take an omen from the flight of birds; and that he whoſe omen proved moſt favourable, would in all reſpects direct the other. In compliance with this advice, they both took their ſtations upon different hills. To Remus appeared ſix vultures; to Romulus, twice that number: ſo that each party thought itſelf victorious; the one having the firſt omen, the other the moſt complete. This produced a conteſt, which ended in a battle, wherein Remus was ſlain; and it is even ſaid, that he was killed by his brother; who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuouſly over the city wall, ſtruck him dead upon the ſpot, at the ſame time declaring, that none ſhould ever inſult his walls with impunity.

Romulus, being now ſole commander, and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome, after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his ſucceſsful omen. The city was at firſt almoſt ſquare, containing about a thouſand houſes. It was near a mile in compaſs, and commanded a ſmall territory round it of about eight miles over. However,

A. M. 3252. A. C. 752.

ſmall as it appears, it was, notwithſtanding, worſe inhabited; and the firſt method made uſe of to increaſe its numbers, was the opening a ſanctuary for all malefactors, ſlaves, and ſuch as were deſirous of novelty. Theſe came in great multitudes, and contributed to increaſe the number of our legiſlator's new ſubjects.

To have a juſt idea therefore of Rome, in its infant ſtate, we have only to imagine a collection of cottages ſurrounded by a feeble wall, rather built to ſerve as a military retreat, than for the purpoſes of civil ſociety; rather filled with a tumultuous and vicious rabble, than with ſubjects bred to obedience and control: we have only to conceive men bred to rapine, living in a place that ſeemed merely calculated for the ſecurity of plunder; and yet, to our aſtoniſhment, we ſhall ſoon find this tumultuous concourſe uniting in the ſtricteſt bonds of ſociety; this lawleſs rabble aſſuming the moſt ſincere regard for religion; and, though compoſed of the dregs of mankind, ſetting examples to all the world of valour and of virtue.

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CHAP. II.

From the building of Rome to the Death of Romulus.

SCARCE was the city raiſed above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving ſome form to their conſtitution: their firſt object was to unite liberty and empire; to form a kind of mixed monarchy, by which all power was to be divided between the prince and the people. Romulus, by an act of uncommon generoſity, left them at liberty to chooſe their king; and they, in gratitude, concurred to elect their founder: he was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, ſovereign magiſtrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beſide a guard to attend his perſon, it was agreed that he ſhould be preceded wherever he went by twelve men, armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods, who were to ſerve as executioners of the law, and to impreſs his new ſubjects with an idea of his authority. Yet ſtill this authority was under very great reſtrictions, as his whole power conſiſted in calling the ſenate together; in aſſembling the people; in conducting the army, when it was decreed by the other part of the

the conſtitution, that they ſhould go to war; and in appointing the queſtors, or treaſurers of the public money; officers who, we may ſuppoſe, at that time had but very little employment, as neither the ſoldiers nor magiſtrates received any pay.

The ſenate, which was to act as counſellors to the king, was compoſed of an hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, conſiſting of men whoſe age, wiſdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow-ſubjects. The king named the firſt ſenator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required the general's abſence. In this reſpectable aſſembly was tranſacted all the important buſineſs of the ſtate, the king himſelf preſiding, although every queſtion was to be determined by a majority of voices. As they were ſuppoſed to have a paternal affection for the people, they were called Fathers; and their deſcendants, Patricians. To the Patricians belonged all the principal offices of the ſtate, as well as of the prieſthood. To theſe they were appointed by the ſenate and the people, while the lower ranks of citizens, who were thus excluded from all views of promotion for themſelves, were to expect advantages only from their valour in war, or their aſſiduity in agriculture.

The Plebeians, who compoſed the third part of the legiſlature, aſſumed to themſelves the power

power of authoriſing thoſe laws which were paſſed by the king or the ſenate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magiſtrates, and even to the chooſing a king, were confirmed by their ſuffrages. In their numerous aſſemblies all enterpriſes againſt the enemy were propoſed, while the ſenate had only a power of rejecting or approving their deſigns. Thus was the ſtate compoſed of three orders, each intended as a check upon the other: the people reſolved whether the propoſals of the king were pleaſing to them; the ſenate deliberated upon the expediency of the meaſure; and the king gave vigour and ſpirit by directing the execution. But, though the people by theſe regulations ſeemed in poſſeſſion of great power, yet there was one circumſtance which contributed greatly to its diminution; namely, the rights of patronage, which were lodged in the ſenate. The king, ſenſible that in every ſtate there muſt be a dependence of the poor upon the powerful, gave permiſſion to every plebeian to chooſe one among the ſenators for a patron. The bond between them was of the ſtrongeſt kind; the patron was to give protection to his client, to aſſiſt him with his advice and fortune, to plead for him before the judge, and to reſcue him from every oppreſſion. On the other hand, the client attached himſelf to the intereſts of his patron; aſſiſted him, if poor, to portion his daughters, to pay his debts,

debts, or his ranſom, in caſe of being taken priſoner: he was to follow him on every ſervice of danger; whenever he ſtood candidate for an office, he was obliged to give him his ſuffrage; and was prohibited from giving teſtimony in a court of juſtice whenever his evidence affected the intereſt of his patron. Theſe reciprocal duties were held ſo ſacred, that thoſe who violated them were ever after held infamous, and excluded from the protection of the laws: ſo that from hence we ſee the ſenators, in effect, were poſſeſſed of the ſuffrages of their clients; ſince all that was left the people was only the power of chooſing what patron they ſhould obey. In a nation ſo barbarous and fierce as the firſt Romans, it was wiſe to enforce obedience, as the moſt requiſite duty.

The firſt care of the new created king was to attend to the intereſts of religion, and to endeavour to humaniſe his ſubjects, by the notion of other rewards and puniſhments than thoſe of human laws. The preciſe form of their worſhip is unknown; but the greateſt part of the religion of that age conſiſted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their ſoothſayers, who pretended, from obſervations on the flight of birds and the entrails of beaſts, to direct the preſent, and to dive into futurity. This pious fraud, which firſt aroſe from ignorance, ſoon became a moſt uſeful machine in the hands of government.

government. Romulus, by an expreſs law, commanded, that no election ſhould be made, no enterpriſe undertaken, without firſt conſulting the ſoothſayers. With equal wiſdom he ordained, that no new divinities ſhould be introduced into public worſhip; that the prieſthood ſhould continue for life, and that none ſhould be elected into it before the age of fifty. He forbad them to mix fable with the myſteries of their religion; and, that they might be qualified to teach others, he ordered that they ſhould be the hiſtoriographers of the times: ſo that, while inſtructed by prieſts like theſe, the people could never degenerate into total barbarity.

Of his other laws we have but few fragments remaining. In theſe however we learn, that wives were forbid, upon any pretext whatſoever, to ſeparate from their huſbands; while, on the contrary, the huſband was empowered to repudiate the wife, and even to put her to death, with the conſent of her relations, in caſe ſhe was detected in adultery, in attempting to poiſon, in making falſe keys, or even of having drunk too much wine. His laws between children and their parents were yet ſtill more ſevere; the father had entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could ſell them or impriſon them at any time of their lives, or in any ſtations to which they were arrived. The father might expoſe his children, if born

with

with any deformities, having previouſly communicated his intentions to his five next of kindred. Our lawgiver ſeemed more kind even to his enemies; for his ſubjects were prohibited from killing them after they had ſurrendered, or even from ſelling them: his ambition only aimed at diminiſhing the number of his enemies by making friends of them.

After ſo many endeavours to encreaſe his ſubjects, and ſo many laws to regulate them, he next gave orders to aſcertain their numbers. The whole amounted to but three thouſand foot, and about as many hundred horſemen, capable of bearing arms. Theſe therefore were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he aſſigned a different part of the city. Each of theſe tribes were ſubdivided into ten curiæ, or companies, conſiſting of an hundred men, with a centurion to command it; a prieſt called Curio to perform the ſacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called Duumviri, to diſtribute juſtice. According to the number of Curiæ he divided the lands into thirty parts, reſerving one portion for publick uſes, and another for religious ceremonies. The ſimplicity and frugality of the times will be beſt underſtood by obſerving, that a citizen had not above two acres of ground for his own ſubſiſtence. Of the horſemen mentioned above, ten were choſen from each Curiæ; they

were particularly appointed to ſurround the perſon of the king in battle; of them his guard was compoſed; and from their alacrity in war, or from the name of their firſt commander, they were called Celeres, a word equivalent to our light horſemen.

A government thus wiſely inſtituted, it may be ſuppoſed, induced numbers to live under it; each day added to its ſtrength, multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only ſeemed to want women to aſcertain its duration. In this exigence, Romulus, by the advice of the ſenate, ſent deputies to the Sabines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance, and upon theſe terms offering to cement the moſt ſtrict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then conſidered as the moſt warlike people of Italy, rejected the propoſition with diſdain; and ſome even added raillery to the refuſal, demanding, that, as he had opened a ſanctuary for fugitive ſlaves, why he had not alſo opened another for proſtitute women? This anſwer quickly raiſed the indignation of the Romans; and the king, in order to gratify their reſentment, while he at the ſame time ſhould people his city, reſolved to obtain by force, what was denied to entreaty. For this purpoſe he proclaimed a feaſt, in honour of Neptune, throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the moſt magnificent

cent preparations for it. Theſe feaſts were generally preceded by ſacrifices, and ended in ſhows of wreſtlers, gladiators, and chariot courſes. The Sabines, as he had expected, were among the foremoſt who came to be ſpectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them to ſhare the pleaſure of the ſight. The inhabitants alſo of many of the neighbouring towns came, who were received by the Romans with marks of the moſt cordial hoſpitality. In the mean time the games began; and while the ſtrangers were intent upon the ſpectacle, a number of the Roman youth ruſhed in among them with drawn ſwords, ſeiſed the youngeſt and moſt beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents proteſted againſt this breach of hoſpitality; in vain the virgins at firſt oppoſed the attempts of their raviſhers; perſeverance and careſſes obtained thoſe favours which timidity at firſt denied; ſo that the betrayers, from being objects of averſion, ſoon became the partners of their deareſt affections.

But however the affront might have been borne by them, it was not ſo eaſily forgiven by their parents: a bloody war enſued. The cities of Cenina, Antemna, and Cruſtumium, were the firſt who reſolved to revenge the common cauſe which the Sabines ſeemed too dilatory in purſuing. Theſe, by making ſeparate inroads,

became

became a more eaſy conqueſt to Romulus, who firſt overthrew the Ceninenſes, ſlew their king Acron in ſingle combat, and made an offering of the royal ſpoils to Jupiter Feretrius, on the ſpot where the capitol was afterwards built. The Antemnates and Cruſtuminians ſhared the ſame fate; their armies were overthrown, and their cities taken. The conqueror, however, made the moſt merciful uſe of his victory; for, inſtead of deſtroying their towns, or leſſening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to ſerve as a frontier to repreſs more diſtant invaſions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the laſt, although the moſt formidable, who undertook to revenge the diſgrace his country had ſuffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thouſand men; and added ſtratagem to a ſuperiority of forces. Tarpeia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as ſhe went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of large promiſes, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward ſhe engaged for, was what the ſoldiers wore on their arms, by which ſhe meant their bracelets. They however, either miſtaking her meaning, or deſirous to puniſh her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered,

and

and cruſhed her to death. The Sabines being thus poſſeſſed of the Capitoline, had the advantage of continuing the war at their pleaſure, and for ſome time only ſlight encounters paſſed between them. The tediouſneſs of this conteſt, however, began to exhauſt both parties; ſo that each wiſhed, but neither would ſtoop to ſue, for peace. The deſire of peace often gives vigour to meaſures in war; wherefore, both ſides reſolving to terminate their differences by a deciſive action, a general engagement enſued, which was renewed for ſeveral days, with almoſt equal ſucceſs. Both armies contended for all that was valuable in life, and neither could think of ſubmitting: in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, the laſt engagement was fought between the Romans and the Sabines. The battle was become general, and the ſlaughter prodigious, when the attention of both ſides was ſuddenly turned from the ſcene of horrour before them, to another infinitely more ſtriking. The Sabine women who had been carried off by the Romans, were ſeen with their hair looſe and their ornaments neglected, interpoſing between the combatants, regardleſs of their own danger, and only ſollicitous for that of their parents, their huſbands, and their children. "If (cried they) you are re-
"ſolved upon ſlaughter, turn your arms upon

" us, ſince we only are the cauſe of your " animoſity. If any muſt die, let it be us, " ſince, if our parents or our huſbands fall, " we muſt be miſerable in being the ſurviving " cauſe." A ſpectacle ſo moving could not be reſiſted by the combatants: both ſides, for a while, as if by mutual impulſe, let fall their weapons, and beheld the diſtreſs in ſilent amazement. The tears and entreaties of their wives and daughters at length prevailed; an accommodation enſued, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius ſhould reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative; that an hundred Sabines ſhould be admitted into the ſenate; that the city ſhould ſtill retain its former name, but that the citizens ſhould be called Quirites, a name till then peculiar to the Sabines; and that both nations being thus united, ſuch of the Sabines as choſe it, ſhould be admitted to live in and enjoy all the privileges of denizens in Rome. Thus every ſtorm which ſeemed to threaten this growing empire, only ſerved to increaſe its vigour. The ſoldiers of that army, which in the morning had reſolved upon its deſtruction, came in the evening with joy to be enrolled among the number of its citizens. Romulus ſaw his dominions and his ſubjects encreaſed by more than half, in the ſpace of a few hours; and, as if fortune meant every way to aſſiſt his ambition,

bition, Tatius, his partner in the government, was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, for having protected ſome of his dependents, who had plundered them and ſlain their ambaſſadors; ſo that by this accident Romulus once more ſaw himſelf ſole monarch of Rome.

Rome being greatly ſtrengthened by this new acquiſition of power, began to grow formidable to her neighbours; and it may be ſuppoſed, that pretexts for war were not wanting, when prompted by jealouſy on their ſide, and by ambition on that of the Romans. Fidena and Cameria, two neighbouring cities, were ſubdued and taken. Veii alſo, one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Etruria, ſhared nearly the ſame fate; after two fierce engagements they ſued for peace and a league, which was granted upon giving up ſeven ſmall towns on the Tiber, their ſalt-pits near that river, and hoſtages, for greater ſecurity.

Succeſſes like theſe produced an equal ſhare of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with thoſe limits which had been wiſely aſſigned to his power, he began to affect abſolute ſway, and to govern thoſe laws to which he had formerly profeſſed implicit obedience. The ſenate was particularly diſpleaſed at his conduct, as they found themſelves only uſed as inſtruments to ratify the rigour of his com-

mands. We are not told the preciſe manner which they employed to deſtroy the tyrant; ſome ſay that he was torn in pieces in the ſenate-houſe; others, that he diſappeared while reviewing his army; certain it is, from the ſecrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occaſion to perſuade the multitude, that he was taken up into heaven: thus him whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worſhip as a god.

Romulus reigned thirty-ſeven years, and after his death had a temple dedicated to him, under the name of Quirinus; Proclus, one of the ſenators, ſolemnly affirming, that he had appeared to him, and deſired to be invoked by that title.

We ſee little more in the character of this prince, than what might be expected in ſuch an age, great temperance and great valour, which generally make up the catalogue of ſavage virtues. However, the grandeur of the Roman empire creates in us an admiration of the founder, without ſtrictly examining what claim he had to the title of an hero.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Romulus to the Death of Numa Pompilius, the ſecond King of Rome.

ROME was already grown into a very formidable ſtate, her forces now amounting to forty-ſix thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe; ſo that it required ſome time to unite ſo great a concourſe of ſubjects into an obedience to one governor: in fact, the city ſeemed greatly divided in the choice of a ſucceſſor. The Sabines were for having a king choſen from their body, but the Romans would not conſent to advance a ſtranger to the throne. In this perplexity the ſenators undertook to ſupply the place of a king, by taking the government, each of them in turn, for five days, and during that time, enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. This new form of government ſubſiſted a year; nor is it known whether the ſenate intended, by continuing it, to preſerve the ſovereign power among themſelves, or to wait for a proper perſon to inveſt with regal power. The plebeians, however, who ſaw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their maſters, inſiſted upon altering that mode of U. C. 38.

government, allowing the ſenate the power, either of nominating a king, or electing annual magiſtrates from among their number. The ſenate being thus driven to an election, for ſome time debated upon the proper form, till at length, it was agreed, that the party which elected, ſhould nominate from the body of the other, ſo that the new king would have equal attachments to both; to the one as his countrymen, to the other as his electors. In conſequence of this determination the choice being left to the Roman part of the ſenate, they pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, and their nomination was received with univerſal approbation by the reſt of the ſenate and the people.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his juſtice, moderation, and exemplary life. He was ſkilled in all the learning and philoſophy of the Sabines, and lived at Cures, contented with a private fortune, unambitious of publick honours. It was not, therefore, without reluctance that he accepted the dignity which was conferred upon him: he for ſome time continued obſtinately to refuſe it; but, at length, at the requeſt of his father, and the perſuaſions of the ambaſſadors who were ſent to him from Rome, he conſented to accept of the kingdom. His acceptance produced ſuch

joy, that the people ſeemed not ſo much to receive a king as a kingdom.

The Romans were fond of thinking, that Providence induſtriouſly adapted the various diſpoſitions of its kings to the different neceſſities of its people; and indeed in the preſent inſtance they were not much miſtaken. No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa, at a conjuncture when the government was compoſed of various petty ſtates lately ſubdued, and but ill united among themſelves; they wanted a maſter who could by his laws and precepts ſoften their fierce diſpoſitions, and by his example induce them to a love of religion and virtue. Under Numa, therefore, the people became more ſubmiſſive and ſocial; but what gave them ſtill greater force, if conſidered in the light of conquerors, was the ſpirit of religion, which he implanted among them. This continued to operate through a long ſucceſſion of ages; for what could reſiſt the greateſt valour, when impelled by the moſt profound ſuperſtition?

In the reign of Numa, we are to look only for the pacifick virtues, as his whole time was ſpent in inſpiring his ſubjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, he inſtituted feaſts, and the ſanctity of his life gave him credit ſufficient to perſuade his people, that he

had a particular correſpondence with the goddeſs Egeria. By her advice he built the temple of Janus, which was to be ſhut in time of peace, and open in war; he ordained veſtal virgins, who being four in number, had very great privileges allowed them, ſuch as that of being preceded by the faſces or enſigns of royal power, and of pardoning malefactors, in caſe of an accidental meeting: he inſtituted pontiffs, and enrolled himſelf among the number: he founded the orders of the Salian and Fecial prieſthood, the one to preſerve the ſacred ſhields called Ancilia, which he pretended had dropped down from heaven, and which, while remaining in Rome, the city, as it was ſaid, could never be taken; the other to judge of the equity of war, and to proclaim it with great ceremony.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided thoſe lands which Romulus had gained in war, among the poorer part of the people; he ſoftened the rigour of the laws, which his predeceſſor had inſtituted with regard to parents and children, making it unlawful for a father to ſell his ſon after marriage, becauſe he thought it unjuſt, that a woman who had married a freeman, ſhould be conſtrained to live with a ſlave: he regulated the kalendar, and aboliſhed the diſtinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according

to their ſeveral occupations, and compelling them to live together. By theſe means both nations being intermixed, were brought to a perfect union. Thus having arrived at the age of eighty-three years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a ſtone coffin, contrary to the cuſtom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which conſiſted of twelve in Latin and as many in Greek, to be buried by his ſide, in another. Theſe were taken up about four hundred years after, and becauſe it was thought impious to communicate the myſteries they contained to the publick, they were burnt by order of the ſenate, probably to hide the futility of the work by this extraordinary reverence for the contents.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Numa to the Death of Tullus Hoſtilius, the third King of Rome.

UPON the death of Numa, the government again devolved upon the ſenate, and continued till the people elected Tullus Hoſtilius for their king, which choice had alſo the concurrence of the other part of the conſtitution. This monarch, grandſon to a noble Roman, who had formerly ſignaliſed himſelf againſt U. C. 82.

againg the Sabines, was every way unlike his predeceſſor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterpriſe than even the founder of the empire had been; ſo that he only ſought a pretext for leading his forces to the field.

The Albans were the firſt people who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. Two neighbouring ſtates, both eager for war, and both in ſome meaſure ſubſiſting by plunder, can never want a pretext to colour the violence of a firſt aggreſſion. A few Roman ſhepherds had, it ſeems, committed an inroad upon the territories of Alba; a number of Alban ſhepherds had made repriſals upon them; ambaſſadors were ſent from each ſtate, complaining of the injury; no redreſs was given, and a formal war was declared on both ſides, which neither however would bear the blame of having firſt given riſe to. There were indeed many reaſons for making theſe two ſtates unwilling to come to an open rupture; they were deſcended from the ſame original, and the ties of conſanguinity ſtill held many of them united. There were alſo ſome neighbouring ſtates, enemies to both, that only ſought an opportunity of falling upon them.

It was with theſe diſpoſitions, that after ſome delays, the Roman and Alban forces met, about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide

cide the fate of their reſpective kingdoms; for almoſt every battle in theſe barbarous times was deciſive. The two armies were for ſome time drawn out in array, awaiting the ſignal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful ſuſpenſe which kept them from death or victory. But an unexpected propoſal from the Alban general put a ſtop to the onſet; for ſtepping in between both armies, he, by ſingle combat, offered the Romans a choice of deciding the diſpute: adding, that the ſide whoſe champion was overcome, ſhould ſubmit to the conqueror. A propoſal like this ſuited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his ſubjects, each of whom hoped, that himſelf ſhould be choſen to fight the cauſe of his country. Many valiant men offered themſelves, but could not be accepted to the excluſion of others, till, at laſt, chance ſuggeſted a remedy. There were at that time three twin brothers in each army; thoſe of the Romans were called Horatii, and the Albans Curiatii: all being remarkable for their courage, ſtrength, and activity, to them it was reſolved to commit the management of the combat. When the previous ceremony of oaths and proteſtations, binding the army of the vanquiſhed party to ſubmit to that of the victorious, was over, the combatants were led forth, amidſt the encouragements,

ragements, the prayers, and the ſhouts of their country. They were reminded of their former achievements; they were admoniſhed, that their fathers, their countrymen, and even the gods, were ſpectators of their behaviour. When the people expected to ſee them ruſh to combat, they quitted their arms, and embraced each other with all the marks of the moſt tender friendſhip; but at length, warned with the importance of the trial, the champions engaged; and each, totally regardleſs of his own ſafety, ſought only the deſtruction of his opponent. The ſpectators, in horrid ſilence, trembled at every blow, and wiſhed to ſhare the danger, till at length victory, which had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare againſt the Romans; they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, being all wounded, ſlowly endeavouring to purſue the ſurvivor, who ſeemed by flight to beg for mercy. The Alban Army, unable to ſuppreſs their joy, raiſed a loud acclamation, while the Romans inwardly curſed and repined at the cowardice of him whom they ſaw in circumſtances of ſuch baſeneſs. Soon however they began to alter their ſentiments, when they perceived that his flight was only pretended, in order to ſeparate his antagoniſts, whom he was unable to oppoſe united; for quickly after ſtopping his courſe, and turning upon

upon him who followed moſt cloſely behind, he laid him dead at his feet: the ſecond brother, advancing to aſſiſt him who was fallen, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate; and now there remained but the laſt Curiatius to conquer, who, fatigued and quite diſabled with his wounds, ſlowly came up to offer an eaſy victory. He was killed, almoſt unreſiſting, while the conqueror exulting, offered him as a victim to the ſuperiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army conſented to obey.

A victory ſo great, and attended with ſuch ſignal effects, deſerved every honour Rome could beſtow; but as if none of the virtues of that age were to be without alloy, the hand which in the morning was exerted to ſave his country, was before night embrued in the blood of a ſiſter. Returning triumphant from the field, it raiſed his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loſs of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to whom ſhe was betrothed; but, upon ſeeing the veſt which ſhe had made for her lover, among the number of his ſpoils, and hearing her upbraidings, it provoked him beyond the power of ſufferance, ſo that he ſlew her in a rage. This action greatly diſpleaſed the ſenate, and drew on himſelf the condemnation of the magiſtrates; but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people.

Things

Things being in this poſture, Hoſtilius reſolved to avail himſelf of the late victory, by confirming the ſubmiſſion of Alba, and taking the proper ſteps to quell the inſolence of the inhabitants of Fidena and Veii, who had been making preparations to ſhake off their ſubjection. His deſigns were crowned with ſucceſs in both proceedings. A victory over the latter reſtrained their attempts for ſome time; and as to the former, having convicted Metius Suffetius, their general, of treaſon, he cauſed him to be torn to pieces by horſes; finally, to prevent future revolts, he utterly demoliſhed the city of Alba, and tranſplanted its inhabitants to Rome, many of whom he admitted into the ſenate.

After theſe ſucceſſes, he turned his arms againſt the Sabines, over whom he gained a ſignal victory by means of his cavalry, which the enemy were incapable of withſtanding. Thus every new war, which depopulates other ſtates, ſeemed but to add ſtrength and numbers to that of Rome. It was perhaps from a conſciouſneſs that a ſtate of hoſtility was the beſt for his people, that the king entered into a war with the Latins, which nevertheleſs was managed but ſlowly on both ſides, no battle being fought, nor any town taken, except Medallia, which had formerly been obliged to accept a Roman colony, and was now permitted to be plundered,

as

as an example to prevent the like defection in others. This war laſted almoſt the reſt of his reign, the latter part of which was clouded with terrors from pretended prodigies, while, at the ſame time, the king ſaw his people afflicted with a real famine, which it was not in his power to relieve. He died, after a reign of thirty-two years, ſome ſay by lightening, together with his whole family; others, with more probability, by aſſaſſination.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Tullus Hoſtilius to the Death of Ancus Martius, the fourth King of Rome.

AFTER an interregnum, as in the former caſe, Ancus Martius, the grandſon of Numa, was elected king by the people, and the choice afterwards was confirmed by the ſenate. As this monarch was a lineal deſcendant from Numa, he ſeemed to make him the great object of his imitation. Indeed he was by nature incapable of making any great figure in war, as he took his name of Ancus, from the crookedneſs of one of his arms, which he was incapable of extending: however, he made up this defect by the moſt diligent application to all the arts of peace. He inſtituted the ſacred U. C. 115.

ceremonies-

ceremonies which were to precede a declaration of war; he endeavoured to perſuade the people, that the calamities which lately befel them and his predeceſſor, were owing to a neglect of the gods; he took every occaſion to adviſe his ſubjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and to lay aſide the leſs uſeful ſtratagems of war.

Theſe inſtitutions and precepts were conſidered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than of wiſdom. The Latins therefore began to make incurſions upon his territories; and by their outrages, in ſome meaſure, forced him into a war. But in this he ſtill ſupported his character, and previouſly ſent an herald to declare war. This officer aſſuming a peculiar dreſs, and with a javelin headed with iron in his hand, went to the confines of the enemy, ſolemnly proclaimed war, and then flung his weapon into their territories, with all the force he was able. The ſucceſs of this war was equal to its juſtice; Ancus conquered the Latins, deſtroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and encreaſed his territories by the addition of part of their's. He quelled alſo an inſurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volſcii, and over the Sabines he obtained a ſecond triumph.

But his victories over the enemy were by no means comparable to his works at home, in raiſing temples, fortifying the city, making a priſon

priſon for malefactors, and building a ſea-port at the mouth of the Tyber, called Oſtia, by which he ſecured to his ſubjects the trade of that river, and of the ſalt-pits adjacent. Nor was he leſs careful in encouraging ſtrangers to ſettle at Rome: the privileges which they obtained, and the juſtice which was adminiſtered equally to all, brought numbers of the moſt creditable perſons from different parts of Italy, who not only increaſed the riches of his ſubjects, but alſo tended ſtill more to civilize them. Among others of this quality was Lucumon, who afterwards took the name of Tarquinius, and became his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, by the name of Lucius Tarquinius: This ſtranger who was a perſon of great accompliſhments as well as of large poſſeſſions, was very honourably treated by Ancus, who probably was prejudiced in his favour, by an offer Tarquinius had made of depoſiting all his fortune in the treaſury for publick uſes. He was therefore elected into the ſenate, and appointed guardian to the two ſons of Ancus, who, having enriched his ſubjects, and beautified the city, died, after reigning twenty-four years.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Ancus Martius to the Death of Tarquinius Priſcus, the fifth King of Rome.

U. C. 138. LUcius Tarquinius Priſcus, whoſe original name, as has been already obſerved, was Lucumon, and who was appointed guardian to the ſons of the late king, took the ſurname of Tarquinius, from the city of Tarquinia, the place of his former reſidence. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired conſiderable wealth by trade, and had ſettled in Italy upon account of ſome troubles at home. His ſon Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinia; and as his birth, profeſſion, and country, were contemptible in the eyes of the nobles of the place, by his wife's perſuaſions, he came to ſettle at Rome, where merit only was entitled to diſtinction. On his way thither, ſay the hiſtorians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, ſtooping from above, took off his hat, and, flying round his chariot for ſome time, with much noiſe, put it on again. This his wife Tanaquil, who, it ſeems, was ſkilled in augury, interpreted as a preſage, that he ſhould one day wear the crown, and perhaps

haps it was this which firſt fired his ambition to purſue it: accordingly, being poſſeſſed of great riches, all his actions and expences ſeemed to aim at popularity. His elegant addreſs, his frequent invitations, and the many benefits he conferred, gained the eſteem and admiration of a people, who were yet unſkilled in the arts of intrigue, and never conſidered the views with which ſuch favours were beſtowed.

Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as uſual, devolving upon the ſenate, Tarquin uſed all his power and arts to ſet aſide the children of the late king, and to get himſelf elected in their ſtead. For this purpoſe, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have the young princes ſent out of the city; and in a ſpeech to the people, in which he urged his friendſhip for them, the fortune he had ſpent, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himſelf for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be conteſted, it produced the deſired effect, and the people, with one conſent, elected him as their ſovereign.

A kingdom thus got by intrigue, was notwithſtanding governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompence his friends, he added an hundred members to the ſenate, which made them, in all, three hundred. He likewiſe increaſed the number

of veſtal virgins from four to ſeven, and laid the foundations of an amphitheatre for the combats of men and beaſts, which were afterwards carried to an horrid exceſs. The firſt ſhows, however, were only horſe-racing and boxing; in which men, hired for that purpoſe from Etruria, fought with gauntlets for a prize.—How different theſe from the combats of a later age, in which two thouſand gladiators were ſeen at once expiring, or dead upon the ſtage!

But theſe peaceful ſtudies were ſoon interrupted by the inroads of his reſtleſs neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms againſt the Sabines, who had riſen once more, and had paſſed over the river Tyber, upon a bridge of boats, in order to plunder the Roman territories, and, if poſſible, to ſack the city. Tarquin, however, ſoon came up to them on the banks of the river, and gave directions to ſet fire to a large heap of wood that lay by its ſide, and then to throw it in; the burning wood floating down the ſtream, ſet fire to the enemies bridge, and intercepted their retreat. Nor did he permit them to take meaſures for oppoſing him; but attacking them with vigour routed their army; ſo that many who eſcaped the ſword, were drowned in attempting to croſs over, while

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their bodies and armour floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory, even before the meſſengers could arrive that were ſent with the tidings.

Tarquin, reſolving not to give the Sabines time to recover from this defeat, followed them into their own country; where, by another victory, he obliged them to ſue for peace, which they did not obtain, but at the expence of a conſiderable part of their territories, and of Collatia, a large city, five miles eaſt of Rome. Theſe conqueſts were followed by ſeveral advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any deciſive victory.

Tarquin, having thus forced his enemies into ſubmiſſion, was reſolved not to let his ſubjects corrupt in indolence, but undertook ſeveral publick works for the convenience and embelliſhment of the city. He ſurrounded it with ſtronger and larger walls; he adorned the Forum, or market-place, with porticoes; he made many ſewers to drain the city, ſome of which excite the admiration of travellers to this day. He improved the amphitheatre which his predeceſſor had begun, and laid the foundation of the Capitol, which, however, he did not live to finiſh.

In this time alſo, the augurs increaſed in reputation; and he found it his intereſt to promote the ſuperſtition of the people, as this

was in fact but to increaſe their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius Nævius was the moſt celebrated adept of the kind that was ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occaſion, Tarquin, being ſenſible of his want of cavalry, had ſome intentions of adding three new companies of knights to thoſe three that had been formerly inſtituted by Romulus; but he was reſtrained by the augur, who declared, that it was forbidden by the gods to alter any of the inſtitutions of their founder. The king, as the hiſtorians ſay, being in a violent paſſion, upon this declaration, reſolved to try the augur's ſkill, and aſked him, whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected? Nævius, having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: "Why then (cries the "king, with an inſulting ſmile) I had thoughts "of cutting this whetſtone with a razor."—"Cut boldly," replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome without conſulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation. No aſſembly was diſmiſſed, nor army levied; no battle fought, nor peace reſtored, without conſulting the chirping and the flight of birds, which, as it may be ſuppoſed, the augurs made to ſpeak whatever language they pleaſed.

Tarquin, not contented with a kingdom, added alſo the enſigns of royalty; in imitation of the Lydian kings, he aſſumed a crown of gold, and ivory throne, a ſceptre with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the ſplendour of theſe royalties that firſt raiſed the envy of the late king's ſons, who had now for above thirty-ſeven years quietly ſubmitted to his government. His deſign alſo of adopting Servius Tullius, his ſon-in-law, for his ſucceſſor, might have contributed to enflame their reſentment. Whatever was the cauſe of their tardy vengeance, they reſolved to deſtroy him; and, at laſt, found means to effect their purpoſe, by hiring two ruffians, who demanding to ſpeak with the king, pretending that they came for juſtice, ſtruck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the perſon of the king, ſeiſed the murtherers, who were attempting to eſcape; they were put to death; but the ſons of Ancus, who were the inſtigators, found ſafety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, (ſurnamed Priſcus, to diſtinguiſh him from one of his ſucceſſors of the ſame name) aged eighty years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight. By having been of Greek extraction, he, in ſome manner, introduced part of the polite arts of that country among his ſubjects; and, though

the Romans were as yet very far from being civilized, yet they certainly were much more ſo than any of the barbarous nations round them.

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Tarquinius Priſcus to the Death of Servius Tullius, the ſixth King of Rome.

U. C. 176. THE report of the murther of Tarquin filled all his ſubjects with complaint and indignation, while the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the aſſaſſins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, conſidering the danger ſhe muſt incur, in caſe the conſpirators ſhould ſucceed to the crown; and deſirous of having her ſon-in-law for his ſucceſſor, with great art diſſembled her ſorrow, as well as the king's death. She aſſured the people, from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed, but ſtunned by the blow; that he would ſhortly recover; and that, in the mean time, he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his ſon-in-law. Servius, accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, iſſued from the palace, adorned with the enſigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors: he immediately proceeded to deſpatch ſome affairs

affairs that related to the publick ſafety; ſtill pretending, that he took all his inſtructions from the king. This ſcene of diſſimulation continued for ſome days, till he had ſecured his elevation among the nobles, when the death of Tarquin being publickly aſcertained, Servius came to the crown, ſolely at the ſenate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the ſuffrages of the people.

Servius was the ſon of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the ſacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born when his mother was a ſlave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is ſaid to have played round his head, which Tanaquil converted into an omen of his future greatneſs. Impreſſed with this opinion, ſhe gave him the beſt education of the times, and ſoon after raiſed him to the honour of being her ſon-in-law, and appointed him, when the king grew old, to the management of affairs both of a domeſtick and foreign nature. His conduct in this ſtation gained him the good-will of the people, and, what he valued ſtill more, the eſteem of the ſenate.

Upon being acknowledged as king, the chief object of his reign was to increaſe the power of the ſenate, by depreſſing that of the people; an enterpriſe attended with extreme difficulty and danger. To compaſs his intention, he was obliged

obliged to work by ſtratagem; and, by ſeeming to ſtudy their intereſt, bring about a meaſure that ſhould effectually deſtroy their authority. The Roman citizens had hitherto been taxed ſingly, and each paid an equal ſhare to the neceſſities of the ſtate. This method of contributing to the publick exigencies, he pretended to conſider as extremely unjuſt, and propoſed one of a more equitable kind, by which every citizen ſhould be taxed according to his fortune. The populace, who were unable to ſee into his deſigns, received his project with the loudeſt applauſe, and conferred upon him a full power of ſettling the taxes as he ſhould think proper. To begin, therefore, he ordered an exact enumeration to be made of the citizens of Rome, their children and ſervants, and alſo a juſt valuation of their eſtates and ſubſtance. Their numbers were found to amount to above fourſcore thouſand men, capable of bearing arms: a vaſt increaſe ſince the time of Romulus. Theſe he divided into ſix claſſes; in the firſt of which he compriſed the body of the ſenate, the patricians, and all thoſe whoſe fortunes were above eleven hundred thouſand aſſes, or about three hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds of our money; at that time no contemptible fortune in Rome. This claſs he divided into fourſcore centuries, or companies, one half of which, being compoſed of the moſt

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aged and reſpectable perſons, were to remain at home for the defence of the city; the other half, compoſed of the youthful and vigorous, were to follow the general, and to march into the field. Their arms were, a javelin, a ſpear, and a ſword; their armour, a helmet, a cuiraſs, and cuiſhes of braſs. In this claſs alſo was compriſed the knights or horſemen, which conſiſted of eighteen centuries, with two more of the machiniſts, who followed the camp. The ſecond claſs, which conſiſted but of twenty-two centuries or companies, was compoſed of thoſe who were worth above ſeventy-five thouſand aſſes; theſe were accoutred in the ſame manner with the firſt claſs, only, inſtead of a ſhield, they carried a target. The third claſs conſiſted of twenty centuries, and was compoſed of ſuch as were worth fifty thouſand aſſes. The fourth claſs conſiſted of a ſimilar number of centuries, and was compoſed of ſuch as were worth twenty-five thouſand aſſes. In the fifth claſs were thirty centuries, and the qualification was eleven thouſand aſſes: theſe were chiefly employed as ſlingers and irregulars in the army. In the laſt claſs there was but one century, and it ſeemed to be conſidered as of no advantage to the ſtate, except of breeding children, that might one day be uſeful. This claſs paid no taxes, and was diſpenſed with from going to war. In all theſe claſſes, as in the firſt, a part, conſiſting

conſiſting of the old men, were ordained to remain at home for the defence of the city, and the more youthful to fight abroad in their armies. Thus the whole number of the citizens was divided into an hundred and ninety-three centuries, each commanded by a centurion, diſtinguiſhed by his valour and experience.

The citizens being in this manner ranked, they were next to be taxed, but not as formerly, equally and one by one, but by centuries, each century being obliged to ſupply an equal ſhare to the exigencies of government. By theſe means, as the people were extremely numerous in the centuries of the inferior claſſes, their quota of the tax was proportionably ſmall. It cannot be doubted but this partial exemption from taxes was greatly pleaſing to the populace, but they little conſidered that they were to purchaſe it at the expence of their former power: for it was but reaſonable, that, as the ſenators and the rich contributed moſt to the neceſſities of the ſtate, they ſhould alſo have a proportionable influence in managing its concerns. Accordingly, as they paid their taxes by centuries, he inſtituted, that they ſhould give their votes, in all publick tranſactions, by centuries alſo. In former deliberations each citizen gave his ſuffrage ſingly, and the numbers of the poor always carried it againſt the power of the rich; but by the regulations

gulations of Servius, the ſenate, conſiſting of a greater number of centuries than all the other claſſes put together, now entirely out-weighed them in every contention. The plebeians, by this ſtroke of policy, were left but the ſhadow of authority; with which, however, for ſome ages, they ſeemed ſufficiently contented, until the increaſing luxury of the times taught one ſide the abuſe of power; and the other, a pride that diſdained ſubordination.

In order to aſcertain the increaſe or decay of his ſubjects and their fortunes, Tullius inſtituted another regulation, which he called a luſtrum; by which all the citizens were to aſſemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, and in there reſpective claſſes, once in five years, there to give an exact account of their families and fortune. He permitted ſlaves alſo to be ſet free by their maſters, and cauſed ſuch as were thus manumitted, to be diſtributed among the lower claſſes of the city.

The king having enjoyed a long reign, chiefly employed in ſettling the domeſtick policy of the ſtate, but at the ſame time not inattentive to foreign concerns (for he overthrew the Etrurians in many battles, and triumphed over them three ſeveral times) conceived reaſonable hopes of concluding it in tranquillity and eaſe. Servius had even thoughts of laying down his power, and, having formed the kingdom into a re-

a republick, to retire into obſcurity; but ſo generous a deſign was fruſtrated ere it could be put into execution.

In the beginning of his reign, to ſecure his throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandſons of Tarquin; and, as he knew that the women were of oppoſite diſpoſitions, as well as their intended huſbands, he reſolved to croſs their tempers, by giving each to him of a contrary turn of temper; her that was meek and gentle, to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character: by theſe means he ſuppoſed, that each would correct the failings of the other, and that the mixture would be productive only of concord. The event however proved otherwiſe. Lucius, his haughty ſon-in-law, ſoon grew diſpleaſed with the meekneſs of his conſort, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother's wife, who anſwered his paſſion with ſympathetick ardour. As their wiſhes were ungovernable, they ſoon reſolved to break through every reſtraint that prevented their union; both undertook to murther their conſorts, which they effected, and were accordingly ſoon after married. A firſt crime ever produces a ſecond; from the deſtruction of their conſorts, they proceeded

ceeded to conſpire that of the king. They began by raiſing factions againſt him, alledging his illegal title to the crown; which Lucius claimed as heir to Tarquin. But Tullius, by his prudence and great moderation, defeated this deſign; and his conduct was univerſally applauded by the ſenate and people; which brought Lucius to a feigned repentance on his ſide, and produced a real reconciliation on that of the king. Tullia, however, ſtill continuing to add flame to her huſband's ambition, which was already all on fire, he continued his intrigues among the ſenate, attaching the old to him, by putting them in mind of their obligations to his family; and the young, by gifts for the preſent, and promiſes of much greater things upon his coming to the crown. At length, when he found them ripe for ſeconding his views, he entered the ſenate-houſe, adorned with all the enſigns of royalty, and placing himſelf upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obſcurity of the king's birth, and the injuſtice of his title. While he was ſpeaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and ſeeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to puſh the uſurper from his ſeat; but Tarquin being in the vigour of youth, threw the old king down the ſteps which led to the throne; and ſome of his adherents, being inſtructed for that purpoſe,

poſe, followed the king, as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and deſpatched him by the way, throwing his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a publick ſpectacle, into the ſtreet. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, was informed of what her huſband had done, and reſolving to be among the firſt who ſhould ſalute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to drive to the ſenate-houſe, where her ſavage joy ſeemed to diſguſt every beholder. But they were ſhocked upon her return. As her charioteer approached the place where the old king, her father's body, lay expoſed and bloody, the man, all amazed at the inhuman ſpectacle, offered to turn another way; but this only ſerved to increaſe the fierceneſs of her anger; ſhe threw the footſtool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the dead body without heſitation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, after an uſeful and proſperous reign of forty-four years. Though the dominions of Rome had been but little increaſed by him, yet they acquired a ſtability under his government, which far exceeded the tranſient ſplendour of an extenſive, but haſty conqueſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Death of Servius Tullius to the Baniſhment of Tarquinius Superbus, the ſeventh and laſt King of Rome.

LUcius Tarquinius, afterwards called Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himſelf upon the throne, in conſequence of his violent attempt, was reſolved to ſupport his dignity with the ſame violence with which it was acquired. Regardleſs of the ſenate or the people's approbation, he ſeemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refuſed the late king's body inhumation, under pretence of his being an uſurper. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon his acceſſion with deteſtation and horrour; and this act of unexampled cruelty only ſerved to confirm their hatred. Conſcious of this, he ordered all ſuch as he ſuſpected to have been attached to Servius, to be put to death; and, fearing the natural conſequences of his tyranny, increaſed the guard round his perſon. U. C. 220.

His chief policy ſeems to have been to keep the people always employed either in wars or publick works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of

coming to the crown. With this view, he firſt marched againſt the Sabines, who refuſed to pay him obedience, and ſoon reduced them to ſubmiſſion. He next began a war with the Volſci, which continued for ſome ages after, and from theſe he took Sueſſa Pometia, a conſiderable town about twenty-ſix miles eaſt of Rome. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for having attempted, with ſome loſs, to beſiege it, he was obliged to direct his efforts by ſtratagem, contrary to the uſual practice of the Romans. He cauſed his ſon Sextus to counterfeit deſertion, upon pretence of barbarous uſage, and to ſeek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints, and ſtudied lamentations, he ſo prevailed upon the pity of the people, as to be choſen their governor, and ſoon after general of their army. He at firſt, in every engagement, appeared ſucceſsful, till, at length, finding himſelf entirely poſſeſſed of the confidence of the ſtate, he ſent a truſty meſſenger to his father for inſtructions. Tarquin made no other anſwer, than by taking the meſſenger into the garden, where he cut down before him the talleſt poppies. Sextus readily underſtood the meaning of this reply, and found means of deſtroying or removing the principal men of the city, one by one, ſtill taking care to divide their effects among the people.

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The charms of plunder kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themſelves, at laſt, without counſellors or head; and in the end, fell under the power of Tarquin, without even ſtriking a blow. After this he made a league with the Æqui, and renewed that with the Etrurians.

But while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to ſuffer the people to continue in idleneſs at home. He undertook to build the Capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign, and an extraordinary event contributed to haſten the execution of his deſign. A woman, in ſtrange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king, offering to ſell nine books, which ſhe ſaid were of her own compoſing. Not knowing the abilities of the ſeller, or that ſhe was, in fact, one of the celebrated Sibyls, whoſe prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refuſed to buy them. Upon this ſhe departed, and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the ſame price for the ſix remaining. Being once more deſpiſed as an impoſtor, ſhe again departed; and burning three more, returned with thoſe remaining, ſtill aſking the ſame price as at firſt. Tarquin, ſurpriſed at the inconſiſtency of her behaviour, conſulted the augurs on ſuch an uncommon emergency. They much blamed him for not buying the nine,

and intreated him to buy the three remaining, at whatſoever price they were to be had. The woman, ſays the hiſtorian, after thus ſelling and delivering the three prophetick volumes, and adviſing him to have a ſpecial attention to what they contained, vaniſhed from before him, and was never ſeen after. Tarquin choſe proper perſons to keep them, who, though but two at firſt, were afterwards increaſed to fifteen, under the name of Quindecemviri. The books were put into a ſtone cheſt, and a vault in the newly-deſigned building was thought the propereſt place to lodge them in ſafety; ſo that the work went on with great vigour; and as omens and prodigies were frequent in this ignorant age, in digging the foundations, a man's head, named Tolus, was ſaid to be found, which, though he was many years dead, ſtill bled afreſh, as if he had been but newly ſlain. This prodigy gave the building the name of Capitol (Caput Toli). It was two hundred feet long, two hundred high, and almoſt as many broad, dedicated to Jupiter in chief, but containing two temples more, under the ſame roof, dedicated to Juno and Minerva. A ſtructure ſo magnificent was, in ſome meaſure, an indication of the increaſe of arts in Rome, not leſs than of piety in the people.

But the time now began to approach, in which the people were to be freed from a tyrant, who,

who, day after day, exhibited new proofs of the cruelty of his diſpoſition. Having been for four years employed in building the Capitol, they began to wiſh for ſomething new to engage their attention; wherefore Tarquin proclaimed war againſt the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained ſome malefactors whom he had baniſhed, and inveſted their chief city Ardea, which lay about ſixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's ſon Sextus, with Collatinus, a noble Roman, and ſome others, ſat in a tent drinking together; the diſcourſe happening to turn upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man praiſing his own, Collatinus offered to decide the diſpute, by putting it to an immediate trial, whoſe wife ſhould be found poſſeſſed of the greateſt beauty, and moſt ſedulouſly employed, at that very hour. Being heated with wine, the propoſal was reliſhed by the whole company; and taking horſe without delay, they poſted to Rome, though the night was already pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like the other women of her rank, ſpending the time in eaſe and luxury, but ſpinning in the midſt of her maids, and chearfully portioning out their taſks. Her modeſt beauty, and the eaſy reception ſhe gave her huſband and his friends, ſo charmed them all, that they unani-

mouſly gave her the preference; and Sextus was ſo much inflamed, that nothing but enjoyment could ſatisfy his paſſion.

For that purpoſe he went from the camp to viſit her privately a few days after, and received the ſame kind treatment which he had met with before. As his intentions were not ſuſpected, Lucretia ſat with him at ſupper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him in the houſe. Midnight was the time in which this ruffian thought it ſafeſt to put his deſigns in execution. Having found means to convey himſelf into her chamber, he approached her bed-ſide with a drawn ſword, and rudely laying his hand upon her boſom, threatened her with inſtant death, if ſhe offered to reſiſt his paſſion. Lucretia, affrighted out of her ſleep, and ſeeing death ſo near, was yet inexorable to his deſire, till being told, that, if ſhe would not yield, he would firſt kill her, and then laying his own ſlave alſo dead by her ſide, he would report, that he had found and killed them both in the act of adultery. The terrour of infamy achieved what that of death could not obtain; ſhe conſented to his deſire, and the next morning he returned to the camp, exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time Lucretia, deteſting the light, and reſolving not to pardon herſelf for the crime of another, ſent for her huſband Collatinus, and for Spurius, her father, to come to her,

her, as an indelible diſgrace had befallen the family. They inſtantly obeyed the ſummons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinſman of her father's, and Junius Brutus, a reputed ideot, whoſe father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the meſſenger by the way. Their arrival only ſerved to increaſe Lucretia's poignant anguiſh; they found her in a ſtate of ſtedfaſt deſperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief. "No (ſaid ſhe) never ſhall I "find any thing worth living for in this life, "after having loſt my honour. You ſee, my "Collatinus, a polluted wretch before you; "one whoſe perſon has been the ſpoil of another, "but whoſe affections were never eſtranged "from you. Sextus, under the pretended "veil of friendſhip, has this night forced from "me that treaſure, which death only can re-"ſtore; but if you have the hearts of men, "remember to avenge my cauſe, and let poſte-"rity know, that ſhe who has loſt her virtue, "hath only death for her beſt conſolation." So ſaying, ſhe drew a poignard from beneath her robe, and inſtantly plunging it in her boſom, expired without a groan. The whole company remained for ſome time fixed in ſorrow, pity, and indignation; Spurius and Collatinus, at length, gave a vent to their grief in tears; but Brutus drawing the poignard reeking from Lucretia's wound, and lifting it up towards heaven,

" Be witneſs, ye Gods (he cried) that from " this moment I proclaim myſelf the avenger " of the chaſte Lucretia's cauſe: from this mo- " ment I profeſs myſelf the enemy of Tarquin, " and his luſtful houſe: from henceforth ſhall " this life, while life continues, be employed " in oppoſition to tyranny, and for the happi- " neſs and freedom of my much loved country." A new amazement ſeiſed the hearers, to find him, whom they had heretofore conſidered as an ideot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of juſtice, and of Rome. He told them, that tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance called ſo loud; and delivering the poignard to the reſt, impoſed the ſame oath upon them, which he himſelf had juſt taken.

Junius Brutus was the ſon of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who was married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priſcus, and for that reaſon, through a motive of jealouſy, put to death by Tarquin the Proud. This Junius Brutus had received an excellent education from his father, and had, from nature, ſtrong ſenſe, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but perceiving that Tarquin had privately murdered his father and his eldeſt brother, he aſſumed the behaviour of a fool, in order to eſcape the ſame danger, and thence obtained the ſurname of Brutus. Tarquin, thinking his folly real, deſpiſed

ſpiſed the man; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of his eſtate, kept him as an ideot in his houſe, merely with a view of making ſport for his children. It happened, in a time of threatened danger, that Brutus was ſent with Tarquin's two ſons, to conſult the oracle of Delphi, upon the methods expedient to avert the calamity. The ſons were pleaſed with his company, and laughed to ſee him offer his ſtaff at the ſhrine of Apollo; which, however, was a much more valuable preſent to the god than their's, as it had been made hollow, and then filled with gold. The young men, after executing their father's commands, next enquired of the oracle, which of them ſhould be king of Rome? to which it was anſwered, that he who firſt kiſſed his mother, ſhould gain the kingdom. In conſequence of this declaration, Tarquin's ſons reſolved to kiſs their mother at the ſame time, and thus reign together. Brutus, however, who dived into the real meaning of the oracle, as ſoon as they were arrived in Italy, pretended accidentally to fall down, and kiſſing the earth, ſaluted her whom he conſidered as the general parent of all. From that time, he conceived hopes of being the deliverer of his country, and chaſing the tyrant Tarquin and his whole family from Rome.

Brutus having now the faireſt opportunity of delivering his country from a tyrant, who had

had long harraſſed it with impunity, procured with all expedition the gates of the city to be ſhut, till the people could be aſſembled, and a publick decree for Tarquin's baniſhment obtained. Accordingly, he cauſed Lucretia's dead body to be expoſed to view, in the publick forum; while the citizens, who ran tumultuouſly from all quarters to ſee it, were at firſt impreſſed with pity, which ſoon after was changed into rage and ungovernable fury. This was the diſpoſition which he had ſo often longed for in vain. Now therefore inflaming their ardour by a diſplay of the horrid tranſaction, and ſtill more by the glorious hopes of future freedom, he obtained a decree of the ſenate, that Tarquin and his family ſhould be for ever baniſhed from Rome, and that it ſhould be capital for any to plead for, or attempt his return.

Tarquin, in the mean time, having heard of theſe commotions, flew with the utmoſt expedition to Rome, in hopes to quell and puniſh the delinquents; but finding the gates ſhut, and the walls full of armed men, he prepared to return, filled with indignation, to the camp: but Brutus had taken care to prevent him; for expeditiouſly getting to the army by another road, he acquainted the ſoldiers with what had been done in the city, Lucretia's unhappy fate, and how the ſenate and people

had

had determined to revenge it. The ſame ſentiments of humanity which had impelled the citizens, touched the army alſo. They agreed to act with their friends at home; and when Tarquin came back, they refuſed to admit him. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Cira, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time, the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

Thus ended with Tarquin the regal ſtate of Rome, after it had continued two hundred and forty-five years, and ſtill roſe with a gradual, but ſlow increaſe. Although, at the time of Tarquin's expulſion, the territory of the Romans was not above forty miles long, and thirty broad, yet their government was poſſeſſed of that vigour which bodies of a ſlow growth are generally found to enjoy; nor were they at any time maſters of a greater territory than they had forces to keep in obedience. Few hiſtories can ſhow a ſucceſſion of kings, replete with more virtue and moderation than thoſe who firſt governed in Rome; it was from their wiſe inſtitutions, that the people ſeemed to acquire all that courage, that piety, and that patriotiſm, which afterwards operated in conquering mankind. Their ſubjects undoubtedly poſſeſſed all

all the ruſtick fierceneſs of the times; but it muſt have been owing to the monarchs only, that their very enemies reaped the benefit of their victories; it muſt have been the general's virtue alone that could protect thoſe whom the ſoldier's valour had ſubdued. The Grecian legiſlators had the Egyptians to imitate, but the Romans were placed in the midſt of nations far more barbarous than themſelves, and the wiſe regulations of their monarchs were chiefly of their own formation. Hitherto, however, we only ſee the genius of the nation making faint ſtruggles to get free from her native ferocity, obſtructed by cuſtom at home, and barbarous example abroad; yet, upon particular occaſions, exerting a nobleneſs of mind; ſtill aiming at what they conceived to be virtue; and even in infancy majeſtick.

CHAP. IX.

From the Baniſhment of Tarquin to the Appointment of the firſt Dictator.

U. C. 245. THE regal power being overthrown, a form of government, nominally republican was ſubſtituted in its room. The ſenate, however, reſerved by far the greateſt ſhare of the authority to themſelves, and decorated their own body

body with all the ſpoils of depoſed monarchy. The centuries of the people choſe from among the ſenators, inſtead of a king, two annual magiſtrates, whom they called conſuls, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the ſame privileges, and the ſame enſigns of authority. Though the liberty of the people was but very little increaſed by this inſtitution, yet to it Rome afterwards, in a great meaſure, owed its unequalled grandeur. In the life of a king, there are many periods of indolence and of paſſion, that ſerve to divert him from the publick good; but in a commonwealth, governed by magiſtrates annually choſen, each has no time to loſe; and, to attain his ambition, all his exertions muſt be within the year. Hence it is, that thoſe magiſtrates were ever ambitious of engaging in ſome new war, and pointing out freſh enemies to the Roman people. The people, thus kept in continual alarms, attained a more perfect knowledge of the military arts, and were better enabled to adopt the improvements of the various nations they were led to engage.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus, the huſband of Lucretia, were the firſt raiſed to the dignity of conſuls in Rome. They immediately revived the laws for aſſembling the people, which had been diſcontinued during the late tyrant's reign; but, that their newly-

newly-acquired liberty ſhould be prevented from degenerating into licentiouſneſs, ſeveral officers relative to the prieſthood were appointed, and new ſacrifices ordained.

This new republick, however, which ſeemed ſo grateful to the people, had like to have been deſtroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the ſtate, who had been educated about the king, and had ſhared in all the luxuries and pleaſures of the court, undertook to reeſtabliſh monarchy. They were diſguſted with the gloomy auſterity of a republican form of government, in which the laws, inflexible and ſevere, made no diſtinctions of birth or fortune. This party ſecretly increaſed every day; and, what may create our ſurpriſe, even the ſons of Brutus, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin, who was informed of theſe intrigues in his favour, was reſolved to advance them by every art in his power, and accordingly ſent ambaſſadours from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown, and demanding the effects which he had left behind him; but in reality, with a deſign to give ſpirit to his faction, and to draw over to it as many as he could. They accordingly went on with ſucceſs, holding their private meetings at the houſe of

one of the conſpirators, and already the reſtoration of the king and the death of the conſuls was reſolved upon, when the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, by accident. A ſlave, who had accidentally hid himſelf in the room where the conſpirators uſed to aſſemble, overheard their converſation, and laid open their deſigns to the conſuls, who gave orders to have the conſpirators ſecured and brought before them, and among theſe were ſeen the ſons of Brutus. Few ſituations could have been more terribly affecting than this of a father, placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children; impelled by juſtice to condemn, and by nature to ſpare them. The young men accuſed, pleaded nothing for themſelves; but, with conſcious guilt, awaited their ſentence in ſilence and agony. The other judges, who were preſent, felt all the pangs of nature; Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repreſs his ſentiments of pity. Brutus alone ſeemed to have loſt all the ſoftneſs of humanity, and, with a ſtern countenance and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy reſolution, demanded of his ſons, if they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three ſeveral times; but receiving no anſwer, he, at length, turned himſelf to the executioner. "Now "(cried he) it is your part to perform the reſt." Thus ſaying, he again reſumed his ſeat, with an air

air of determined majeſty; nor could all the ſentiments of paternal pity, the imploring looks of the people, nor the dreadful ſituation of the young men, who were preparing for execution, alter his determination. The executioners having ſtripped, and then whipped them with rods, preſently after beheaded them; Brutus, all the time, beholding the cruel ſpectacle with a ſteady look and unaltered countenance, while the multitude gazed on with all the ſenſations of pity, terrour, and admiration.

The conſtancy of Brutus, during the execution of his two ſons, ſerved greatly to increaſe his authority in Rome; but the lenity of his colleague Collatinus was conſidered in a very different light: his having attempted to ſave the Aquilii, his nephews, rendered him ſuſpected to the citizens; he was accordingly depoſed from the conſulſhip, and baniſhed Rome; and Valerius, afterwards ſurnamed Publicola, from his regard to the people, was elected conſul in his room.

All Tarquin's hopes of an inſurrection in his favour being thus overthrown, he reſolved to force himſelf upon his former throne by foreign aſſiſtance, and to that end prevailed upon the Veians to aſſiſt him, and with a conſiderable army advanced towards Rome.

U. C. 246. The conſuls were not remiſs in preparations to oppoſe him. Valerius commanding the foot, and

and Brutus the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman borders. Aruns the ſons of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, ſeeing Brutus at a diſtance, was reſolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day before the engaging of the armies; wherefore, ſpurring on his horſe, he made toward him with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach, ſingled out from the ranks to meet him; and both met with ſuch rage, that, eager only to aſſail, and thoughtleſs of defending, they fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle enſued, with equal ſlaughter on both ſides; but the Romans, remaining in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, claimed the victory: in conſequence, Valerius returned in triumph to Rome.

Brutus, being thus removed without having completed his year, Valerius continued for ſome time to enjoy the dignity without a colleague, which excited the jealouſies of the people, who were apprehenſive that he had thoughts of aſpiring to the crown. A palace which he had built with ſome magnificence, upon an eminence, augmented theſe ſuſpicions; and it was reported, that he had intentions of converting it into a fortreſs, in order to awe the city. Valerius, however, ſoon quieted their fears, by ordering his palace to be pulled down; and, to ſhow the rectitude of his intentions, made

ſeveral laws abridging the power of the ſenate, and extending that of the people. By one, he allowed an appeal from the conſuls to the people; by another, he made it death for any man to aſſume the office of magiſtrate without the people's conſent; a third gave power to any man to kill the perſon, unheard, who affected the ſupreme power, if he could prove the crime. He alſo appointed queſtors, or treaſurers, who were to have the management of the government's money, and the care of accommodating ambaſſadors. Still more to ingratiate himſelf with the publick, he ordered the rods which the lictors carried, to be ſeparated from the axes; intimating thereby, that the power of capitally puniſhing lay no longer in the conſuls, but the people. Having thus ſatisfied their ſcruples, he choſe Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, for his colleague in the conſulſhip; who, dying a ſhort time after, was ſucceeded by Horatius; and the time of annual election coming on ſoon after, Valerius was choſen a ſecond time, and with him T. Lucretius. The new conſuls numbered the people; and they were found to amount to an hundred and thirty thouſand perſons, beſides widows and orphans.

In the mean time, Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, ſtill formed alliances to aſſiſt him in regaining the crown; and prevailed upon Porſenna, one of the kings of Etruria,

ria, to eſpouſe his cauſe, and in perſon undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally remarkable for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid ſiege to the city, while the terrour of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with diſmay. The ſenate, in this exigence, did all that prudence could ſuggeſt, to quiet the fears, and ſatisfy the wants of the people. They ordered, that the populace ſhould pay no taxes to the ſtate, during the continuance of the war; alledging, that they contributed their ſhare, in educating children to defend it. Finally, they purchaſed corn in various parts of Campania, and had it brought to Rome, to be diſtributed at a low price to the people. Theſe indulgences linked the order of the ſtate ſo firmly together, that every citizen ſeemed reſolved to defend his country to the laſt, and ſave Rome, or expire in its ruins. The ſiege, however, was carried on with vigour: a furious attack was made upon the place: the two conſuls oppoſed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans flying in great conſternation, were purſued by the enemy to the bridge, over which, both victors and vanquiſhed were about to enter the city in confuſion. All now appeared loſt, when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as ſentinel to defend it, oppoſed himſelf to the enemy, and, aſſiſted only

by two more, for ſome time ſuſtained the whole fury of the aſſault, till the bridge was broken down behind him: when he found the communication thus cut off, plunging with his arms into the Tyber, he ſwam back victorious to his fellow-ſoldiers, and was received with juſt applauſe.

Still, however, Porſenna was determined upon taking the city; and, though, five hundred of his men were ſlain in a ſally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greateſt ſtraits, and turning the ſiege into a blockade, reſolved to reduce it by famine. The diſtreſs of the beſieged ſoon began to be inſufferable, and all things ſeemed to threaten a ſpeedy ſurrender, when another act of bravery, even ſuperior to that which had ſaved the city before, procured its ſafety and freedom.

Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, was reſolved to free his country from an enemy who ſeemed to be determined upon its deſtruction; for this purpoſe, diſguiſed in the habit of an Etrurian peaſant, he entered the camp of the Etrurians, reſolving to kill their king, or die in the attempt. With this reſolution he made up to the place where Porſenna was paying his troops, with a ſecretary by his ſide; but miſtaking the latter for the king, he ſtabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended and brought back into the royal preſence. Upon Porſenna's demanding who he was, and the cauſe

cauſe of ſo heinous an action, Mutius, without reſerve, informed him of his country and his deſign, and at the ſame time thruſting his right hand into a fire that burnt upon an altar before him, "You ſee (cried he) how little "I regard the ſevereſt puniſhment your cruelty "can inflict upon me. A Roman knows how "to act, and how to ſuffer: I am not the only "perſon you have to fear; three hundred of "the Roman youth, like me, have conſpired "your deſtruction, therefore prepare for their "attempts." Porſenna, amazed at ſo much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit though found in an enemy; he, therefore, ordered him to be ſafely conducted back to Rome, and offered the beſieged conditions of peace. Theſe were readily accepted on their ſide, being neither hard nor diſgraceful, except that twenty hoſtages were demanded; ten young men, and as many virgins, of the beſt families in Rome. But even in this inſtance alſo, as if the gentler ſex were reſolved to be ſharers in the deſperate valour of the times, Clelia, one of the hoſtages, eſcaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the reſt of her female companions, ſwam over the Tyber on horſeback, amidſt ſhowers of darts from the enemy, and preſented herſelf to the conſul. This magiſtrate, however, fearing the conſequences of detaining

her, ordered her to be ſent back; upon which, Porſenna, not to be out-done in generoſity, not only gave her her liberty, but permitted her to chooſe ſuch of the hoſtages of the oppoſite ſex, as ſhe ſhould think fit to attend her. On her part, ſhe, with all the modeſty of a Roman virgin, choſe only ſuch as were under fourteen, alledging that their tender age was leaſt capable of ſuſtaining the rigours of ſlavery.

Few remarkable tranſactions happened after this for about five years, if we except two or three victories obtained over the Sabines, who were obliged to purchaſe a peace: the conſuls obtained two triumphs over them, and the firſt ovation that had been ſeen in Rome, which differed from a triumph in theſe reſpects, that in an ovation, the general entered the city on foot, and not in a chariot; that he was met only by the knights and patricians, and not by the ſenators in their robes; that his dreſs was leſs magnificent, and that his crown, inſtead of being compoſed of laurel, was made of myrtle. Poſthumius, who overcame the Sabines, was the firſt who was decreed this leſſer kind of triumph, becauſe his ſucceſs was not obtained but at the expence of a former defeat. Some other victories followed, but we will not dwell upon theſe ſmall advantages, which, though they contributed to extend the empire, would be at preſent attended neither with curioſity nor inſtruction.

Tarquin,

Tarquin, though often diſappointed, was ſtill unſubdued and unſhaken. By means of his ſon-in-law Manilius, he ſtirred up the Latins to eſpouſe his intereſt, and took the moſt convenient opportunity, when the plebeians and ſenators were divided amongſt each other, to make head againſt Rome. After having united twenty-four towns in his confederacy abroad, he, by large bribes, found means to win over a very powerful party of the poorer ſort of citizens from their new government, who alſo had many real cauſes of diſcontent to diſguſt them, and to which they ſoon after gave vent.

The Romans, under their kings, had only two ways of ſubſiſting, by agriculture and by plunder; they lived either by labour on their own lands, or by reaping the harveſts which had been ſown by their enemies. Soon, however, after the extinction of royalty, the ſenators and patricians, who were in effect ſovereigns of the country, appropriated to themſelves the greateſt part of the lands which were the rights of conqueſt, and inſenſibly extended their own poſſeſſions at the expence of the publick. In vain the ſoldier fought to enlarge the limits of the dominions of Rome; the great ſhared the fruit of his labour, though they had no participation in the danger. The poverty of the ſoldier, by theſe means, obliged him

to borrow money upon uſury; and, as intereſt was exorbitant, it only ſerved to increaſe his wretchedneſs. The laws alſo of Rome permitted the creditor to ſeiſe the perſon of the inſolvent debtor, and to employ him as a ſlave, till the debt was paid: this complication of miſery ſoon excited the murmurs of the poor, till, from entreaties they proceeded to menaces. The attempt of Tarquin to regain the crown ſeemed to them a favourable conjuncture to regain thoſe rights, of which they had been inſenſibly deprived. When the conſuls therefore came to levy men in order to oppoſe him, to their great amazement, all the poor, and all who were loaded with debt, refuſed to inliſt, declaring, that thoſe who enjoyed the advantages of peace, might undergo the fatigues of war; but that, for their part, they were wearied with expoſing their lives for nothing; or, for what was ſtill worſe, for maſters who undervalued their labours, and only rioted upon their diſtreſs. They acknowledged no city nor country, they ſaid, which would not give them protection; and, by leaving Rome, they only left behind them their miſeries, their oppreſſors, and their debts. They therefore inſiſted, that their debts ſhould be cancelled by a decree of the ſenate, as the only means of inducing them to take the field. At firſt, the ſenate endeavoured to appeaſe the populace by gentle methods; but, finding

finding theſe unſucceſsfnl, they entered into a ſerious conſideration upon ſo important an affair. There were ſome for a free remiſſion of all debts, as the ſafeſt and ſecureſt method at that juncture. Others urged the dangerous conſequences of this condeſcenſion, adviſing, that only ſuch ſhould be enliſted, as thought fit to give in their names, and that the reſt ſhould be treated with contempt. At length, they came to a reſolution to put off the impending evil by delay, and to publiſh an order, that no debtor ſhould be moleſted during the continuance of the war. The people, however, to whom the ſenate offered this ſuſpenſion as a favour, refuſed it with acrimony and contempt. They knew that this was only putting off that grievance which would ſoon fall upon them with encreaſed ſeverity; they knew that the approach of the enemy had extorted from the ſenate what they would reſume when their terrours ſhould be over, and they ſtill perſiſted in their demands. The number of the malcontents encreaſed every hour; and many of the people, who were neither poor, nor involved in debt, entered into and ſhared their griefs, either from a conſciouſneſs of the rectitude of their demands, or from the natural diſlike which all men have to their ſuperiors. In this exigence therefore, the ſenate who ſaw the commonwealth upon the brink of ruin, had recourſe

recourſe to an expedient, which, though ſucceſsful for the preſent, in a courſe of ages was fatal to the republick of Rome. The conſuls, finding their authority inſufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magiſtrate, who ſhould have abſolute power, not only over all ranks of the ſtate, but even over the laws themſelves. The plebeians, who held the ſenate in abhorrence, readily conſented, willing to give up their own power, for the ſake of abridging that of their ſuperiors; and Largius was created the firſt Dictator of Rome (for ſo was this high office called) being nominated to it by his colleague in the conſulſhip. Thus the people, who could not bear to hear the name king even mentioned, readily ſubmitted to a magiſtrate poſſeſſed of much greater power: ſo much do the names of things miſlead us, and ſo little is any form of government diſagreeable to people when it co-incides with their prejudices. This was the firſt intermiſſion of the conſular power, about ten years after it had been eſtabliſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From the Creation of the firſt Dictator, to the Election of the Tribunes of the People.

LARGIUS, being now created dicta- U. C.
tor, entered upon his office, ſurrounded with his 255.
lictors, and all the enſigns of ancient royalty, and ſeated upon a throne in the midſt of the people, ordered the levies to be made, in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terrour upon a magiſtrate whom they had inveſted with uncontrollable power, and each went peaceably to range himſelf under his reſpective ſtandard. The Latins being informed of this change in the government of the city, began to loſe all the expectations which they had conceived from its diviſions; they accordingly thought proper to liſten to an accommodation, which was propoſed on the ſide of Rome, and a truce was agreed upon between them for a year. Largius, who had been ſent to oppoſe the enemy, returned with his army to Rome, and before his ſix months were expired (the time limited for this office) he laid down the dictatorſhip, with the reputation of having exerciſed it with blameleſs lenity.

It

It appears, that the year enſuing there was occaſion for another dictator, as we find Poſthumius inveſted with that office, and leading out the Romans to proſecute the war with the Latins, upon the expiration of the truce between them. We are told, that, coming up with them near the lake Regillus, he gave them a complete overthrow, though they were almoſt double his number; and that ſcarce a fourth of their army eſcaped alive from the field. It would be unimproving, however, and tedious, to give the particulars of the engagements of this warlike people, in the infancy of their empire, while yet they ſeem but the tumultuary meetings of brave, but obſtinate men, whoſe valour alone, rather than conduct, decided the fortune of the day. In this battle, we are particularly told, that the dictator caſt one of the enſigns among the enemy, to incite his men to a bold attempt for its recovery: we are told alſo, that the bridles were ordered to be taken off the horſes, that they might charge with greater fury. Generals who could give ſuch directions might have been bold men, but very bad commanders. Nevertheleſs, they fought againſt an enemy more ignorant than themſelves, ſo that the Latins acknowledging their ſuperiority, implored a truce once more, and the dictator, after a triumph, laid down his authority.

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The ſoldiers having returned from the field in triumph, had ſome reaſon to expect a remiſſion of their debts, and to enjoy that ſafety for themſelves which they had procured for the publick. However, contrary to their hopes, the courts of juſtice were opened againſt them, and the proſecution of creditors revived with more than uſual ſeverity. This ſoon excited freſh murmurs, and the ſenate, who were ſenſible of them, in order to be prepared, choſe Appius Claudius, a man of auſtere manners, a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, and of unſhaken intrepidity, for one of the conſuls the year enſuing: but, at the ſame time, to temper his ſeverity, they gave him for a colleague Servilius, a man of an humane and gentle diſpoſition, and as much beloved by the populace as Appius was hateful to them. When the complaints of the people therefore came to be deliberated upon, theſe two magiſtrates, as it may be ſuppoſed, were entirely of oppoſite opinions. Servilius, commiſerating the diſtreſſes of the poor, was for aboliſhing all debts, or at leaſt for diminiſhing the intereſt upon them. Appius, on the other hand, with his natural ſeverity, inſiſted that the laws of his country ſhould be inviolably obſerved, and that lightening the loan from thoſe who owed money, was but throwing it upon thoſe to whom it was due. That it would be encouraging the extravagant

and the idle, at the expence of the induſtrious and the frugal; and that every new compliance from the ſenate would but increaſe the inſolent demands of the people.

The populace being appriſed of the different opinions of their conſuls concerning their complaints, loaded Servilius with every mark of gratitude, while they every where purſued Appius with threats and imprecations. They began to aſſemble afreſh, to hold ſecret cabals, by night, and to meditate ſome new revolution, when an unlooked for ſpectacle of diſtreſs rouſed all their paſſions, and at once fanned their kindled reſentment into flame.

A Roman ſoldier, who ſeemed in age, came to take refuge in the midſt of the people, loaded with chains, yet ſhowing in his air the marks of better days: he was covered with rags; his face was pale and waſted with famine; his beard, which was long and neglected, and his hair in wild diſorder, rendered his appearance ſtill more ghaſtly. He was known, however, to be a gallant man, who had often been valiant in the field; he ſhowed the ſcars which he had received in battle, and the marks of recent ſtripes, which ſtill continued bleeding. The compaſſion of the multitude was excited at this ſpectacle, but much more when he told them his ſtory. Having bor'n arms in the laſt war againſt the Sabines, his little patrimony was not only neglected, but

the

the enemy had plundered his ſubſtance, and ſet his houſe on fire. In this ſituation he was forced for ſubſiſtence to contract debts, and then obliged to ſell his inheritance to diſcharge them; but a part ſtill remaining unpaid, his unfeeling creditor had dragged him to priſon, where he was not only loaded with chains, but torn with the whips of the executioner, who was ordered to torment him. This account, and his wounds, which were ſtill freſh, produced an inſtantaneous uproar among the people: they flew to take revenge not only on the delinquent, but on the general body of their oppreſſors. Appius had the fortune to find ſafety by flight. Servilius, laying aſide the marks of conſular power, threw himſelf into the midſt of the tumult, entreated, flattered, commanded them to patience; engaged to have their wrongs redreſſed by the ſenate; promiſed that he himſelf would warmly ſupport their cauſe; and in the mean time, to convince them of his good intentions, made proclamation, that no citizen ſhould be arreſted for debt, until the ſenate ſhould iſſue further directions.

The remonſtrances of Servilius, for this time, ſerved, in ſome meaſure, to appeaſe their murmurs; and the ſenate was going to begin their deliberations, when word was brought, that an army of Volſcians was marching directly towards Rome. This was an event which the people

people had wiſhed with the moſt ardent expectation; and they now reſolved to let the nobles ſee, how little the power of the rich avails, when unſupported by the ſtrength of the multitude. Accordingly, when the levy came to be made, they unanimouſly refuſed to inliſt, while thoſe who had been impriſoned for debt, ſhowing their chains, aſked, with an inſulting ſmile, whether theſe were the weapons with which they were to face the enemy.

Rome, in this ſtate of anarchy within, and of threatened invaſion from without, was upon the brink of ruin, when Servilius, who, as conſul, was to command the army, once more renewed his entreaties with the people, not to deſert him in this exigence. To ſoothe them ſtill more, he iſſued a new edict, that no citizen ſhould be impriſoned during the continuance of the war; and aſſured them, that, upon their return, they ſhould have plenary redreſs. By theſe promiſes, as well as by the affection which the people had to his perſon, he once more prevailed. The citizens came in crowds to enrol themſelves under his command; he led them to meet the enemy, and gained a complete victory. But of all thoſe who ſhowed their courage in the engagement, the debtors and former malcontents were the moſt conſpicuous. Servilius, to recompenſe their bravery, gave them the plunder of the enemy's camp, without reſerving

reſerving, as was uſual, any part of it for the treaſury; and this perhaps was the cauſe which induced the ſenate, upon his return, to refuſe him the honours of a triumph.

No ſooner were the terrours of the enemy removed, but the former cruelties were renewed. Appius, ſtill fierce and uncomplying, again authoriſed the creditors to renew their ſeverity, and the debtors were dragged to priſon, and inſulted as before. In vain did they implore the aſſiſtance of Servilius, who, gentle and wavering, deputed too much of his power to Appius. In vain did they claim the promiſes made them by the ſenate; for, that body, deaf to their cries, ſaw debtors purſued, even into the forum, by their mercileſs creditors, and prevented only by the multitude from being dragged to priſon. The approach of an enemy, ſtill more numerous than that which had been lately conquered, retarded the acrimony of their vengeance. The Sabines, the Equi, and the Volſcians, as if willing to ſecond the views of the people, again made a fierce irruption, while the citizens refuſed to inliſt, till their grievances were removed.

Things being in this dangerous ſituation, the ſenate was obliged to have recourſe to the uſual method of redreſs, by creating a dictator. Appius, who adviſed the meaſure, hoped that he would have been choſen; but the ſenate, ſen-

ſible that ſo much power in the hands of one ſo violent in the uſe of that which he already poſſeſſed, would be dangerous, choſe Marius Valerius, an ancient ſenator, one mild, merciful, much loved by the people, and deſcended from the great deliverer whoſe name he bore. Valerius, who ſecretly inclined to the plebeian party, choſe Quintus, the brother of their great idol, Servilius, for his maſter of the horſe, and aſſembling the orders, aſſured them, that if they would follow him freely, their grievances ſhould not only be redreſſed, but their fortunes advanced by the ſpoils of the enemy. He in the mean time freed them from any immediate proſecutions from their creditors, and commanded them to follow him to the field. There was ſomething ſo abſolute in the office of a dictator, and it was ſo much conſidered by the people, that they not only dreaded its reſentment, but ſeemed to think its promiſes binding. They therefore enrolled themſelves at his order, and marching againſt the enemy, quickly reduced them to ſubjection, ſuch lands as had been taken from them being divided among the ſoldiers.

Upon his return, the dictator requeſted the ſenate to perform what he had ſo ſolemnly pledged his word to obtain; but Appius, ſtill obſtinate, refuſed to comply, reproaching him with a mean condeſcenſion to the multitude, and bringing over the majority of the ſenate to his

his opinion. Valerius therefore, finding he was unable to contend with ſo powerful a body, laid down his office, alledging that it was time for an old man of ſeventy, to think rather of eaſe than oppoſition.

The people were now inflamed to a dangerous degree; they entered into private conſultations, and formed a plan of ſeparating themſelves from maſters, whoſe promiſes were as contemptible as their tyranny dreadful. The moſt violent meaſures are to the multitude always the moſt pleaſing, and ſome had even the boldneſs to talk of killing ſuch as were obnoxious. The ſenate and the conſuls, well knowing the effects of their fury when they ſhould be diſbanded, reſolved ſtill to keep them in the field, under pretence, that the enemy was yet unſubdued, and preparing for new invaſions. In this exigence the ſoldiers were at a loſs how to act; the military oath which they had taken upon liſting, forbade their laying down their arms, or forſaking their ſtandards; and yet their recent injuries reſtrained them from taking the field. They ſteered between both extremes; they reſolved to quit a city which gave them no protection, and to form a new eſtabliſhment without its limits. They, therefore, removed their enſigns, changed their commander, and, under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius Bellutus, they retired to a mountain, from thence called

the Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, about three miles from Rome.

The news of this defection filled the city with tumult and conſternation; thoſe who wiſhed well to the army made all the attempts they could to ſcale the walls, in order to join it, for the gates were ſhut, by the ſenate's direction. The fathers, who had ſons among the mutineers reproached their degeneracy; wives lamented the abſence of their huſbands; and all apprehended a civil war. The ſenate was not leſs agitated than the reſt: ſome were for violent meaſures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion, that gentler arts were to be uſed, and that even a victory over ſuch enemies would be worſe than a defeat. At length, therefore, it was reſolved to ſend a meſſenger, entreating the army to return home, and declare their grievances, promiſing, at the ſame time, an oblivion of all that had paſſed. This meſſage was treated by the army with diſdain; ſo that the ſenate were now to begin afreſh to conſider of the proper ſteps to be taken, and whether force or condeſcenſion was the wiſeſt courſe to purſue.

Accordingly, after chooſing new conſuls (tho' not without difficulty, as none at firſt would offer for the office) they entered upon the deliberation, with an earneſtneſs equal to the im-

portance of the cauſe. Menenius Agrippa, one of the wiſeſt and beſt of the ſenators, was of opinion, that the people were to be indulged; becauſe the Roman dominions could neither be extended nor preſerved without them. The late dictator Valerius ſeconded his opinion, with a warmth unuſual to one of his advanced age. He upbraided the ſenate with their duplicity, and urged the neceſſity of the people's ſharing thoſe advantages which the rich were determined to engroſs. Appius, on the other hand, ſtill adhering to his principles, declaimed with great violence againſt making the ſmalleſt conceſſions to the multitude. He obſerved, that if they granted to the people when enemies, what they had refuſed them when friends, it would be an argument of their fears, and not their juſtice; that the young patricians and their clients were ſtill able to defend the city, even though its ungrateful inhabitants ſhould deſert it; that the multitude never knows where to ſtop in its demands, and that every conceſſion would be productive of freſh claims and louder importunities. The body of the ſenators, to whom chiefly the people were debtors, only wanted the ſpecioufneſs of ſuch arguments to cover their avarice; thoſe of the younger ſort alſo, who were flattered by the orator, applauded his ſpeech with indecent zeal. The conſuls therefore, who,

notwithſtanding this ſhow of a debate, ſaw the neceſſity there was for complying with the people, in order to prevent ſuch violent meaſures as the ſenate were haſtening into, for that day, broke up the aſſembly; at the ſame time intimating to the younger part of the ſenators, that, if they did not behave with more moderation for the future, a law ſhould be preferred, preventing all under a certain age from being admitted into the ſenate.

This threat did not want its effect at their next meeting, where, notwithſtanding the ſtedfaſt oppoſition of Appius, and the terrible blow that was about to be given to the fortunes of many of the members, it was reſolved to enter into a treaty with the people, and to make them ſuch offers as ſhould induce them to return. Ten commiſſioners were accordingly deputed, at the head of whom were Largius and Valerius, who had been dictators; and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved by the ſenate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of theſe ambaſſadors procured them a very reſpectable reception among the ſoldiers, and a long conference began between them. Largius and Valerius employed all their oratory on the one hand; while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were the ſpokeſmen of the ſoldiery, aggravated their diſtreſſes, with all that maſculine eloquence which nature inſpires. The conference continued for a long

long time, when Menenius Agrippa, who had been originally a plebeian, a ſhrewd man, and who, conſequently, knew what kind of eloquence was moſt likely to pleaſe the people, addreſſed them with that celebrated fable, which is ſo finely told us by Livy. "In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itſelf, and each had a ſeparate will of its own, they all, with common conſent, reſolved to revolt againſt the belly: they knew no reaſon, they ſaid, why they ſhould toil from morning till night in its ſervice, while the belly, in the mean time, lay at its eaſe in the midſt of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours: accordingly, they agreed to ſupport it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred they would not chew a morſel of meat, though it were placed between them. Thus reſolved, they for ſome time ſhowed their ſpirit, and kept their reſolution; but ſoon they found, that, inſtead of mortifying the belly by theſe means, they only undid themſelves; they languiſhed for a while, and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the belly, that they had ſtrength to work, or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an inſtantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimouſly cried out that Agrippa

ſhould lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius, before-mentioned, with-held them; alledging, that, though they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the ſenate, yet they had no ſafe-guard for the future againſt their reſentment; and that it was neceſſary, for the ſecurity of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themſelves, who ſhould have power to give ſuch of them as ſhould be injured, redreſs, and plead the cauſe of the community.

The people, who are ever of opinion with the laſt ſpeaker, highly applauded this propoſal, which yet the commiſſioners had not power to comply with; they, therefore, ſent to Rome to take the inſtructions of the ſenate; who, worried with diviſions among themſelves, and harraſſed by complaints from without, were reſolved to have peace, at whatſoever price it ſhould be obtained; accordingly, as if with one voice, they conſented to the creation of the new officers, who were called *Tribunes of the People*, Appius alone proteſting with vehemence againſt the meaſure.

The tribunes of the people were at firſt five in number, though afterwards their body was increaſed by five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and generally from their body. They had power of annulling

nulling all ſuch decrees of the ſenate, as they conſidered to diſtreſs upon the people; and to ſhow their readineſs to protect the meaneſt, their doors ſtood open night and day, to receive complaints. They at firſt had their ſeats placed before the doors of the ſenate-houſe, and being called in they were to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *veto*, *I forbid it*; or confirming it by ſigning the letter *T*, which gave it validity. Their perſons were to be ſacred; and, though they were not diſtinguiſhed by any of the enſigns of office, ſuch as the curule chair, or the lictors which attended upon other magiſtrates, yet their power was greatly ſuperior, having a negative vote upon all decrees of the ſenate. They were, however, to have no authority without the walls of the city; and it was unlawful for them to be abſent from it a day; but what ſtill more diminiſhed their authority was, that any one of their number could put a negative upon the meaſures of the reſt; and this was afterwards found the moſt artful method of oppoſing them; for one gained over to the ſenate, rendered the attempts of the reſt abortive. This new office, therefore, being thus inſtituted, Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga were the firſt tribunes choſen by the ſuffrages of the people. The ſenate alſo made an edict confirming the abolition of debts: and now all things

things being adjuſted on both ſides, the people, after having ſacrificed to the Gods of the mountain, returned in triumph to Rome.

CHAP. XI.

From the Creation of the Tribunes to the Appointment of the Decemviri.

U. C. 260. WE have hitherto ſeen the people ſtruggling againſt the exorbitant power of the ſenate, but now commences a period in which the ſenate are ſtruggling againſt the encreaſing power of the people; a period, in which the latter, beginning to feel their own force, and being put into motion, bear down all before them with irreſiſtible violence. The firſt advantage the tribunes obtained, was a permiſſion to chooſe from among the people, two annual officers as aſſiſtants in the fatigues of their duty. Theſe were called ædiles; as a part of their buſineſs conſiſted in taking care of the publick buildings, aqueducts and ſewers; and likewiſe in determining ſome cauſes, that had hitherto been determinable by the conſuls only. They were to remark thoſe who held more land than the laws allowed them; to curb all publick immoralities, and aboliſh nuiſances; to provide corn and oil in times of famine,

famine, and to prevent any monopolies that might be made by the purchaſers of ſuch commodities. The people having obtained theſe privileges, and all their clamours being appeaſed, now marched againſt the Volſci and Antiates; took Corioli, one of their chief towns; and ſoon after overthrew the enemy with great ſlaughter. In this battle Marcius, afterwards ſurnamed Coriolanus, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

The people being thus rendered more turbulent by the condeſcenſion of the ſenate, and by a triumph over the enemy, had ſoon after another opportunity to ſhow their aptitude to clamour. During the late ſeparation, tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the conſequence the enſuing ſeaſon. The ſenate did all that lay in their power to remedy the diſtreſs; but the people, pinched with want, and willing to throw the blame on any but themſelves, aſcribed the whole of their diſtreſs to the avarice of the patricians; who having purchaſed all the corn, as was alledged, intended to indemnify themſelves for the abolition of debts, by ſelling it to great advantage. But this was not all they were charged with. The ſenate, in order to leſſen the number of citizens in this time of famine, had ſent many of them to Velitra, a city of the Volſcians, that had lately been much depopulated by a plague. This excited an

an univerſal clamour among the people, which the tribunes took care to encreaſe. This they ſaid was only an artful method of removing ſuch citizens as were obnoxious to the nobles; it was little elſe than baniſhing the braveſt men of the ſtate without an offence; and thus, by weakening the ſtrength of the people, to encreaſe their own. Theſe reports being induſtriouſly propagated, an aſſembly was called, in which the conſuls and the tribunes, by turns, harangued the people. A conteſt managed with ſo much impetuoſity on both ſides, every moment grew warmer: the conſuls inſiſted, that the tribunes had no right to addreſs the aſſembly; the tribunes, on the other hand, aſſerted, that their office was ſacred, and that they ought not to be interrupted in their duty. In this the people unanimouſly concurred; for whatever their leaders thought fit to propoſe, they were ready ro ratify: a law, therefore, was made, that no man ſhould dare to interrupt the tribunes while they ſpoke to the people: a law which greatly increaſed their power, as now, from taking the aſſembly's inſtructions, they were authoriſed to direct them.

The city, after this, enjoyed a tranſient calm; ſome of the people retired to their houſes to ſupport famine with patience and reſignation; while others made incurſions upon the enemy, and returned with the ſpoil. But abundance,

ſoon

ſoon after, renewed in them that turbulence, which the continuance of the famine had appeaſed, but not removed. A large fleet of ſhips laden with corn from Sicily (a great part of which was a preſent from Gelon the king of that country, to the Romans, and the reſt purchaſed by the ſenate with the publick money) raiſed their ſpirits once more, and enflamed their eagerneſs for diſſenſion. When it came to be debated in the ſenate, in what manner this large ſupply ſhould be diſtributed, violent diviſions aroſe. Some were for ſupplying the poorer ſort with a ſufficient quantity for nothing; others were for ſelling it at a low price, and thus to reimburſe the treaſury; but when it came to the turn of Coriolanus to ſpeak, he inſiſted, that no part of it ſhould be diſtributed, until the late infringements which the people had made upon the rights of the ſenate ſhould be rectified, and until the commonwealth was reduced to its former regularity, "Why (cried he) do we bear to ſee "the ſtate divided between two powers, whoſe "diſſenſions only ſerve to harraſs it the more? "Can we tamely bear to ſee tribunes give laws "in Rome, and rule with uncontrolled power, "when we could not ſtoop to kings? If the "factious and turbulent are unwilling to live "at Rome, let them retire once more to their "mountain; it is better not to govern, if we "muſt ſhare our command with the dregs of

"the

" the people." A ſpeech ſo inflammatory, and a meaſure ſo violent, rekindled all the flames of diſſenſion. The multitude, in the violence of their reſentment, would have fallen upon the body of the ſenate; but the tribunes reſtrained their fury, and directed it to Coriolanus, whom they devoted to deſtruction. Nevertheleſs he remained unſhaken; nature had made him bold, frugal, and inflexible; and to theſe diſpoſitions he added the acquired virtues of great reſpect for the laws, great knowledge of war, and an immoderate love for his fellow citizens, or rather that part of them whoſe quarrel he eſpouſed. Having treated the ſummons of the tribunes, to appear before them, with contempt; they ſent their ædiles to apprehend and bring him before the people; but a party of the young patricians gathered round their favourite, repulſed the ædiles, and after beating drove them away. This was a ſignal for univerſal uproar; the tumult encreaſed from every quarter, and a civil war threatened to enſue, had not the conſuls promiſed the people the moſt ample redreſs. The tribunes inſiſted, that he ſhould be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, as a rebel and a contemner of the ſacred authority of the Roman people; and condemned him, even without demanding the ſuffrages of the people. They were alſo going to ſeiſe his perſon, but the patricians again reſcued him.

A

A conduct ſo reſolute on one ſide, ſo aſſuming on the other, in ſome meaſure kept the populace in ſuſpenſe; they were afraid to aſſiſt the tribunes againſt thoſe who had been their generals and their captains, and gazed upon the conteſt with trembling irreſolution. Their backwardneſs, therefore, to lend aſſiſtance, began to raiſe ſuſpicions in the tribunes, that they had proceeded with too much violence; they, in conſequence, demanded to bring him to trial before the aſſembly of the people, and that his caſe ſhould be argued before that authority, from which there lay no appeal. The patricians, who, though conſcious of the innocence of Coriolanus, were yet willing to give peace to the city, conſented, and a day was appointed for making his defence. Coriolanus demanded of the tribunes, what they intended to charge him with; to which they replied, that they intended to accuſe him of aiming at ſovereignty and tyranny; whereupon he chearfully put himſelf upon his trial, conſcious of his innocence of that charge.

When the appointed day was come, all perſons were filled with the greateſt expectations, and a vaſt concourſe from the adjacent country aſſembled and filled the forum. The tribunes, in the mean time, divided the people by tribes, ſeparating them from each other, and ordering that they ſhould give their votes ſeparately, and not by centuries, as

ſince the time of Hoſtilius had always been the cuſtom. This, as we have remarked before, was depriving the patricians of all their influence, ſince the numbers of the populace were ſure to prevail; however, the ſenate, unwilling to make the cauſe of Coriolanus their own, at laſt conſented to this ſtretch of power in the plebeians; but, to make a ſhow of defending him to the laſt, one of the conſuls mounted the roſtrum in his favour, inſiſting upon the ſervices he had done the ſtate; how little a few words eſcaping in the heat of paſſion, ought to be attended to; he ſignified, that the whole ſenate were petitioners in his cauſe, and deſired the tribunes, that they would keep wholly to their promiſed impeachment; namely, his aiming at ſovereign power. To this, Sicinius, the tribune replied, that he would urge againſt the guilty, all things, of every kind, that ſhould tend to prove him guilty; that the ſtate had too much to fear from his influence, and his number of clients, not to uſe every means of bringing him to juſtice; that he owed much more to the ſafety of the ſtate, than to any vain complaiſance to the ſenate; and that the very attempt to depreſs the power of the people, who had every right to govern themſelves, was a crime. Coriolanus, upon this, preſented himſelf before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His

graceful

graceful perſon, his manly eloquence, joined to the cries of thoſe whom he had ſaved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. He began by recounting all the battles he had fought, and the different poſts he had ſuſtained; he ſhowed the various crowns which had been given him by his generals, as rewards of his merit; and expoſed to view the numberleſs wounds he had received in acquiring them; he related all the breaches he had entered, and all the lives he had ſaved, calling out to ſuch as were preſent, to bear witneſs to the truth of his recital. Theſe, with the moſt moving proteſtations, entreated their friends to ſpare that life by which they lived; and, if there were to be an offering for publick reſentment, they themſelves were ready to die for him. A defence like this, ſupported with all that boldneſs which conſcious innocence inſpires, moved every hearer to think of pardon; many cried out, that ſo brave a man deſerved a triumph, not death; and that his very trial was a national reproach. The giddy multitude were going therefore to abſolve him; when Decius, one of the tribunes, a man of fluent eloquence, roſe up to reply. "In whatever manner (cried "he) we may be prevented by the ſenate "from urging thoſe ſpeeches which were made "amongſt that auguſt body, tending to deſtroy "the privileges of the people, yet ſtill we are

" not unprovided; we decline aggravating what " he has ſaid, we have facts, which we call " upon the accuſed to clear himſelf of. We " have an ancient law amongſt us, that all " plunder, taken from the enemy, ſhall be ap- " propriated to the uſe of the publick, and be " given into the treaſury, untouched by the " general. But a law ſo equitable in itſelf, " and ſo inviolably obſerved by our anceſtors, " has been infringed by this man, who ſtands " accuſed before you. In a late incurſion into " the territories of Antium, though his plun- " der, in ſlaves, cattle, and proviſions, was " very great, yet the publick were neither the " better nor the richer for it: it was di- " vided among his friends and followers; " men whom, probably, he only intended to " enrich, to be the better able to ſecure our " ruin. It has ever been the practice of ty- " rants to begin the work of ambition, by " forming a numerous body of partizans, who " are willing to loſe publick regard in private " emolument. Here, then, we ground our " charge; let him, if he can, deny the fact; " and let him bring proofs, not by vainly " ſhowing his ſcars but by convincing us of " his innocence." This charge was entirely unexpected: Coriolanus had, in fact, when the people refuſed to inliſt, iſſued out at the head of his clients, and plundered the enemy, who had

had made incurſions to the very walls of Rome. Theſe ſpoils, which were ſo juſtly earned, he never thought of bringing into the treaſury, as they were the acquiſition of a private adventure. Being therefore unable to anſwer what was alledged againſt him to the ſatisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with the charge, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

Never did the populace teſtify a ſincerer joy, even in triumphing over a vanquiſhed enemy, than they did upon this occaſion, having in a manner totally annihilated the power of the ſenate; ſince henceforward they aſſumed a right of ſummoning any of the individuals of that body before them, whom they thought proper to accuſe. The ſenate, on the other hand, ſaw themſelves reduced to an abject dependence upon the multitude, deprived of all ſecurity to their perſons, and all their former rights of being judged by each other. This ſentence againſt their braveſt defender, ſtruck their whole body with ſorrow, conſternation and regret. Coriolanus alone, in the midſt of the tumult, ſeemed an unconcerned ſpectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the moſt reſpectable ſenators and citizens of Rome, to take a laſting leave of his wife, his children, and his mother Veturia. While they, in the firſt tranſports of ſorrow,

hung round him, as loth to part, he, with a manly fortitude, tore himſelf from their embraces; he exhorted them to bear their fate with fortitude, but to think of him no more. Thus recommending his little children to their care, and all to the care of heaven, he left the city, without followers, to take refuge among the enemies of Rome. In this manner the plebeians, who had obtained tribunes merely for their own defence, employed thoſe very magiſtrates to annoy others; and, by inſenſible degrees, ſtripped the patricians of all their former privileges.

Coriolanus, now obliged to wander, ſought leſs for a retreat from Rome, than for an opportunity of vengeance. All his fortitude, and the early inſtitutions of his mother, were not able to repreſs the reſentment of his wrongs, or his deſire of puniſhing his enemies, even though it involved his country in ruin. Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volſci, and a violent enemy to the Romans, ſeemed to him a fit inſtrument to aſſiſt his revenge. Reſolving to apply to him, he enters Antium, the city where Tullus commanded, by night; and going directly to his houſe, ſeated himſelf near the hearth, by the houſehold gods; a place, which, among the heathens, was held ſacred. Tullus being informed, that a ſtranger, with an air of dignity far beyond what was common, had

had taken refuge in his houſe, came and demanded his name and buſineſs. "My name, "(cried the Roman) is Caius Marcius: my ſur-"name is Coriolanus; the only reward that "remains of all my ſervices. I am baniſhed "Rome for being a friend to it; I am come "to take refuge here, where I have ever "been an enemy. If you are willing to make "uſe of my ſervices, you ſhall find me grate-"ful: if you are willing to revenge the in-"juries I have done, behold me prepared."

Tullus, ſtruck with the dignity and known courage of Coriolanus, inſtantly eſpouſed his quarrel. The firſt thing therefore to be done, was to induce the Volſci to break the league which had been made with Rome; and for this purpoſe, Tullus ſent many of his citizens to Rome, in order to ſee ſome games at that time celebrating; but in the mean time gave the ſenate private information, that the ſtrangers had dangerous intentions of burning the city. This had the deſired effect; the ſenate iſſued an order, that all ſtrangers ſhould depart from Rome before ſun-ſet. This order Tullus repreſented to his countrymen, as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embaſſy to be ſent to Rome, complaining of the breach, and redemanding all the territories belonging to the Volſcians, of which they had been violently diſpoſſeſſed; declaring war in caſe of a refuſal.

This meſſage was treated by the ſenate with contempt; they bade the ambaſſadors inform their countrymen, that menaces could not intimidate the Romans, who would keep with their ſwords thoſe poſſeſſions which their valour had won; and ſhould the Volſcians be the firſt to take up arms, the Romans would be the laſt to lay them down.

War being thus declared on both ſides, Coriolanus and Tullus were made generals of the Volſcians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waſte all ſuch lands as belonged to the plebeians, but letting thoſe of the ſenators remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but ſlowly at Rome; the two conſuls, who were re-elected by the people, ſeemed but little ſkilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general, whom they knew to be their ſuperior in the field. The allies alſo ſhowed their fears, and ſlowly brought in their ſuccours; ſo that Coriolanus continued to take their towns one after the other. Circum, a Roman colony, firſt ſubmitted to his arms; he then attacked the Latins, who vainly implored aſſiſtance from Rome. The towns of Tolerium, Lavici, Pes, and Bola, were all taken by ſtorm; their goods plundered, and the inhabitants made priſoners of war; ſuch as yielded were treated mildly; ſuch as reſiſted were put to the ſword: fortune favoured him

in every expedition, and he was now ſo famous for his victories, that the Volſci left their towns defenceleſs, to follow him into the field; being aſſured, under his conduct, of ſucceſs. The very ſoldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himſelf unoppoſed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length pitched his camp at the Cluilian ditch, within five miles of Rome.

Nothing now was to be ſeen in the city that had lately been ſo turbulent, but timidity and deſpair. The people, who from the walls beheld the enemy ravaging their fields, begged peace with tears and ſupplications. They began to entreat the ſenate to recall the edict which had baniſhed Coriolanus, and acknowledged the injuſtice of their former proceedings. The ſenate deſpiſed ſuch meanneſs, reſolving, if poſſible, not to betray the injuſtice of the ſtate to foreign enemies, or to grant thoſe favours to a traitor, which they had denied him when only accuſed of treaſon. Yet what could their reſolutions avail, when they had not power to ſupport them? Coriolanus approached nearer every day, and at laſt inveſted the city, fully reſolved to beſiege it. It was then that the fierce ſpirit of the patricians was entirely ſubdued; both the ſenate and the people unanimouſly agreed to ſend deputies to him with pro-

poſals of reſtoration, in caſe he ſhould draw off his army. Coriolanus received their propoſals at the head of his principal officers, and with the ſternneſs of a general determined to give the law. He informed them, with the utmoſt ſeverity, that he was now general of the Volſcians, and had only their intereſt to conſider: that, if they hoped for peace, they muſt reſtore all the towns which originally belonged to that people, and make them free of the city, as the Latins were; and that he would give them thirty days to conſider of his terms. The intermediate time he employed in taking ſeveral towns from the Latins, at the end of which he returned, and again encamped his army before the walls of Rome.

Another embaſſy was now ſent forth, conjuring him not to exact from his native city, aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally inflexible and ſevere, ſtill perſiſted in his former demands, and granted them but three days, in which to finiſh their deliberations. A meſſage ſo peremptory, filled the whole city with conſternation. Every one ran to take arms; ſome poſted themſelves upon the ramparts; others watched the gates, leſt they ſhould be ſecretly delivered by the partizans which Coriolanus had within; others fortified their houſes, as if the enemy were already maſters

maſters of the walls. In this general confuſion, there was neither diſcipline nor command. The conſuls, whoſe fears only were their adviſers, had been elected for very different merits than thoſe of ſkill in war. The tribunes, lately ſo fierce, were now no more heard of; all ſhared the univerſal terrour; and it ſeemed as if the boaſted courage of Rome had gone over, with their general, into the camp of the Volſcians. In this exigence, all that was left, was another deputation, ſtill more ſolemn than either of the former, compoſed of the pontiffs, the prieſts, and the augurs. Theſe, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, iſſued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror: they beſought him, by all that was ſacred, by the reſpect he owed the gods, and that which he might have for thoſe who, being ſervants of the gods, were now at his feet, to give peace to his country: but all in vain, they found him ſevere and inflexible as before. He teſtified that reſpect for them, which the ſanctity of their characters demanded; but ſent them away without relaxing any of his demands.

When the people ſaw them return ineffectually, they began to give up the commonwealth as loſt. Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children, who, proſtrate at their altars, put up their ardent prayers for the

the preſervation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguiſh and lamentation, nothing to be ſeen but ſcenes of affright and diſtreſs. At length, it was ſuggeſted to them, that what could not be effected by the interceſſion of the ſenate, or the abjuration of the prieſts, might be brought about by the tears of his wife, or the commands of his mother. This deputation ſeemed to be reliſhed by all, and even the ſenate gave it the ſanction of their authority. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at firſt made ſome heſitation to undertake ſo pious a work, knowing the inflexible temper of her ſon, and fearing only to ſhow his diſobedience in a new point of light, by rejecting the commands of a parent: however, ſhe at laſt undertook the embaſſy, and ſet forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a diſtance diſcovered this mournful train of females, was reſolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him, to be witneſſes of his reſolution: but, when told that his mother and his wife were among the number, he inſtantly came down from his tribunal, to meet and embrace them. At firſt, the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words, and the rough ſoldier could not refrain from ſharing in their diſtreſs.

" Tell me, Coriolanus (cried his mother)
" how am I to conſider this meeting? Do I em-
" brace my ſon, or my enemy? Am I your mo-
" ther, or your captive? How have I lived to
" ſee this day—to ſee my ſon a baniſhed man,
" and, ſtill more diſtreſsful, to ſee him the enemy
" of his country? How has he been able to turn
" his arms againſt the place which gave him
" life? How direct his rage againſt thoſe walls
" which protect his wife, his children, and his
" gods? But it is to me only, that my country
" owes her oppreſſor; had I never been a mo-
" ther, Rome had ſtill been free; the wretched
" conſciouſneſs of this will afflict me as long as
" life ſhall laſt, and that cannot laſt long. But,
" though I am prepared for death, yet, at leaſt,
" let theſe wretched ſufferers claim ſome part
" of your compaſſion; and think what will be
" their fate, when to baniſhment they muſt add
" captivity."

Coriolanus, during this ſpeech, ſeemed much agitated by contending paſſions; his mother, who ſaw him moved, ſeconded her words by the moſt perſuaſive eloquence, her tears: his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity; while the fair train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's diſtreſs. Coriolanus, for a moment, was ſilent, feeling the ſtrong conflict between

honour and inclination; at length, as if rouzed from his dream, he flew to take up his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O my "mother, thou haſt ſaved Rome, but loſt thy "ſon!" He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers, that the city was too ſtrong to be taken. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiſs in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus was ſlain in an inſurrection of the people, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the publick rejoicings at Rome, upon the retreat of the Volſcian army. The ſenate decreed the women what honours they ſhould demand; but they only aſked to have a temple dedicated to Female Fortune, built in the place where they had delivered their country; which was accordingly erected at the publick expence. In the mean time, that courage which had been for a time overpowered, began again to ſhow itſelf in the field. Coriolanus being no more, they ventured to face their Volſcian enemies, who indeed contributed by their own contentions, together with that of their allies, to render any foreign force unneceſſary to their overthrow. A ſignal victory was obtained over them and the Hernici the year enſuing. Among others, Tullus their general was ſlain.

Spurius

Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus had the principal honour in obtaining this victory. He was a man naturally vain, and filled with oſtentation: ambitious to an extreme, and as ready to overrate his own ſervices, as to undervalue thoſe of others. He had been three times conſul, and had been decreed two triumphs by the ſenate; theſe advantages, added to ſome popularity, raiſed his pride to aſpire at being the king of Rome. In order to prepare for this, being empowered by the ſenate to give the conquered nations what conditions of peace he ſhould think proper, he reſolved to attach them to his intereſts by the moſt flattering conceſſions. He therefore reſtored a third part of what he had conquered; he granted them the title of citizens of Rome, and treated the vanquiſhed, in all reſpects, as he would have done a victorious army. To make friends in every part of the ſtate, he gave the Latins one moiety of the conquered lands remaining, and reſerved the other part for the poor citizens of Rome. Not content with this, he was reſolved to increaſe his popularity, by diſtributing among the poor ſome lands, which had long been in the poſſeſſion of the rich, and which he aſſerted to be the property of the publick. Accordingly, on the day ſucceeding that of his triumph, giving an account, according to cuſtom, of what he had done, he expatiated upon his extraordinary

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care and wiſe management of the commonwealth; on his having increaſed the ſubjects and citizens of Rome, and on his own peculiar endowments for guiding the ſtate; he went on to obſerve, that however extenſive the conqueſts of Rome might be, it ſignified but little, if the rich only enjoyed the advantages of them; if that, while the ſenate and patricians lived in affluence, the veteran ſoldier pined in want and obſcurity. He therefore was of opinion, that an exact eſtimate ſhould be made of all the lands taken from the enemy, which were now in poſſeſſion of the rich, and that they ſhould be equally divided among the lower citizens.

This was the original of the famous Agrarian law, which afterwards cauſed ſuch diſturbances among the people. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the ſenate upon hearing it propoſed; as they had before been almoſt ſtripped of their publick rights, they ſaw this attacked them in their private poſſeſſions; all that fortune which their anceſtors or themſelves had acquired by valour or induſtry, was now deſtined to be plundered from them, to be diſtributed among the indolent, the extravagant, and the baſe. One deliberation ſucceeded upon another to concert meaſures how to fruſtrate the effects of this law, and the ambition of Caſſius. The people were not leſs mutinous on their part; the tribunes, and thoſe whoſe

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fortunes were above the loweſt rank, were unwilling to be reduced to a level with the meaneſt of thoſe they pretended to direct: the clients of the rich were attached to the intereſt of their patrons; but, notwithſtanding this, the majority of the multitude, with Caſſius at their head, ſtrenuouſly clamoured for the Agrarian law, and threatened deſtruction to the empire, in caſe of a refuſal. Even ſeveral of the Hernici and Volſci were called in on this occaſion to increaſe the tumult, or to protect the propoſer in caſe of failure. At laſt the ſenate perceived the neceſſity of complying, and therefore gave the populace a promiſe, that the lands ſhould be divided among them, according to their deſire; but that the allies and aſſociates, who had no part in acquiring thoſe lands, ſhould have no ſhare in the diviſion. This promiſe at preſent appeaſed the people, and gave the ſenate an opportunity of concerting meaſures for puniſhing the original propoſer. Accordingly, ſome time after, the queſtors, by their order, appointed a day for Caſſius to anſwer to the charge of his deſigning to become king, before the aſſembly of the people. A blow ſo unexpected alarmed this demagogue with the moſt juſt apprehenſions, particularly, as he had the tribunes as well as the patricians againſt him. He appeared before the aſſembly habited in a manner becoming his ſituation, and

and attempted to intereſt the people in his favour. He alledged, that he was perſecuted in this manner by the patricians, for his zeal in the people's cauſe; that he was their only ſurviving friend, and that their intereſts were united with his. But he found himſelf deſerted by all. The ſenate had the juſteſt reaſon to purſue him; the tribunes envied him his ſhare of popularity, and neglected to eſpouſe his cauſe; and the multitude, pleaſed with the patricians for their late compliance, gave him up to their fury. Being therefore found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the conſtitution, notwithſtanding his many real ſervices, and the interceſſion of his friends and clients, he was thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock, by thoſe very people whoſe intereſts he had endeavoured to extend. It was too late that they perceived their error, and began to regret their champion with a degree of ſorrow, that only ſtill more argued their ingratitude.

U. C. 274. Soon after the death of Caſſius, the people became again urgent for the execution of the Agrarian law; but the ſenate, by a ſubterfuge unworthy their wiſdom, cauſed the conſuls to prepare for an expedition againſt the Æqui. The people at firſt refuſed to inliſt, till the conſuls, hitting upon a new expedient, ordered all the country houſes of the recuſants to be levelled with

with the ground. This had the deſired effect, numbers came to offer themſelves, to ſave their poſſeſſions from deſtruction, and were led againſt the enemy, with the uſual good fortune of Rome. Thus, while the conteſt continued in the city, the Roman arms made continual progreſs in Italy; for that ſpirit of liberty which animated both parties, only contributed to enflame their courage.

Theſe dilatory arts continued for near five years on the part of the ſenate, and as obſtinate a ſpirit of clamour on that of the people: the one having their private intereſts, as well as thoſe of the publick to engage them; the other having a promiſe given, and a conſciouſneſs of their own ſuperior power, to increaſe their obſtinacy. In the midſt of theſe troubles, the Romans received a ſignal defeat, under the conduct of Virginius, one of their conſuls, from the Hetrurian army; and, though Fabius came very opportunely to his relief, yet, upon his retreat, the enemy made incurſions, even to the walls of Rome. This ſerved to increaſe the diſcontents and the animoſities of the citizens, the ſenators ſtill withholding their promiſe, and the people refuſing to inliſt. In ſuch an extremity, the family of the Fabii, with their vaſſals and clients, to the number of four thouſand men, offered to defend the frontiers of the Roman territories. They built a fort nigh the borders

of the enemy, and making frequent incurſions, greatly enriched themſelves by ſpoil. It will not comport with the brevity of this work, to relate all the minute tranſactions, and battles without conſequence which attended the wars between Rome and the little ſtates around her. It will ſuffice to ſay, that they generally ended with the ſame good fortune, namely, the enemies begging peace, and the extenſion of the territories of Rome. The Fabii, however, were not finally ſucceſsful, being all cut off to a man by an ambuſcade, which was laid for them by the people of Veii. Of this noble family, one only ſurvived, whoſe poſterity became afterwards equally ſerviceable to the ſtate.

While the territories of Rome were increaſed, during theſe times of war and civil commotion, her citizens alſo became more numerous. In the enumeration of this year, they were found to amount to one hundred and eleven thouſand men, fit to bear arms, with treble that number of women, children, and ſlaves. This increaſe of people, without commerce, only tended to advance the diſturbances of the city. Every year produced ſome new tumult between the contending orders of the ſtate. The people, now become the electors of the magiſtrates, had not ſkill or integrity to fix upon capable men, and ſcarce did any conſul lay down his office, but the multitude were fore-

moſt to accuſe his remiſſneſs or incapacity. It was in this manner that they accuſed Menenius, their conſul, for ſuffering the family of the Fabii to be cut off; he was indeed an unſkilful general, but at the ſame time innocent of the charge laid againſt him. But this did not avail; he was fined about five pounds of our money, a ſum, which, though trifling in modern eſtimation, he was unable to pay; he therefore, in deteſtation of the injuſtice and ingratitude of his fellow citizens, ſhut himſelf up in his own houſe, and ſtarved himſelf to death.

The year following, the two conſuls of the former year, Manlius and Fabius, were in the ſame manner cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law was the object invariably purſued, and they were accuſed of having made unjuſtifiable delays in putting it off. The ſame perſeverance on one ſide, and obſtinacy on the other, again ſet the city in a ferment, and threatened deſtruction to one of the parties, when Genutius the tribune, who had revived the law, was found dead in his bed, though without any marks of violence. A circumſtance like this, which ſhould have awakened the ſuſpicions of the people, only ſerved to alarm their ſuperſtitions; they began to think that the gods were againſt their cauſe, and ſhowed ſymptoms of returning to their former obedience. The conſuls, in order to avail themſelves

of this lucky occaſion, began to make freſh levies, for it was now become the ſettled policy of the times, to draw off the peccant humours of the people by leading a part of them to war; wherefore, mounting their tribunals, and being attended by their lictors, they continued to enrol the citizens with ſucceſs, till coming to one Volero, a centurion, who refuſed to be inliſted as a private ſentinel, they ordered him to be ſtripped and ſcourged. This injudicious ſeverity not only rekindled the people's reſentment, but afterwards produced a new cauſe of contention concerning the power of the conſuls and the privileges of the people. The priſoner was reſcued by the multitude; the magiſtrates driven off; and, to complete their mortification, ſoon after, Volero was made one of the tribunes of the people.

The election of this demagogue ſeemed very injurious to the patrician party; he was not only reſolved upon carrying the Agrarian law, but alſo upon enacting another, in which the people ſhould give their votes by tribes, and not by their curiæ or their centuries. This was another mortal blow to the patrician power; for, as when the people voted by centuries, the patricians were entire maſters of the conteſt, and when by curiæ, in which only the inhabitants of the city voted, they alſo, from their number of clients, had the majority of voices;

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ſo now, when by this all freemen of Rome, from whatever part of its territories they came, ſhould be admitted to give a ſingle vote, equal to that of the firſt ſenator, all influence was entirely loſt, and the patricians had nothing to do but to remain paſſive. It was therefore at firſt ſtrongly oppoſed by the ſenate, and as warmly urged by the people. In this conteſt, U. C. 282. Appius Claudius, the conſul, ſon to the former Appius, by a ſort of hereditary hatred to the people, was among the foremoſt. In one of their publick aſſemblies he oppoſed their deſigns ſo warmly, and ſo juſtly expoſed the turbulent tempers of the tribunes, that they ordered him to depart the aſſembly; and upon his refuſal, they commanded that he ſhould be ſent to priſon.

So great a ſtretch of power aſtoniſhed all the ſenators who were preſent; they offered to take arms in his defence, and as the people had in the former caſe beaten off the lictors, ſo they were in this driven off by the patricians. This ſeemed the ſignal for a new tumult; ſtones, torches, and every weapon that fury could furniſh, in a place where the citizens never carried arms, were employed againſt each other. But Quintius, the other conſul, of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, throwing himſelf into the midſt of the combatants, entreating and beſeeching ſome, and menacing others, for that night aſſuaged their mu-

tual animoſity. Their tumults, however, were renewed the day following, with more than former fury: Appius, with all his native fierceneſs, charging at the head of his clients, and other young patricians. But Lectorius, the tribune, with a multitude of the lower part of the people, took poſſeſſion of the capitol, where they fortified themſelves, ſeemingly determined to hold it out againſt their oppoſers. Their conduct now ſeemed ſtill more reſolute than in the former defection of the army on mount Aventine; for as in that, the inſurgents were at a diſtance from Rome; in this, they were in the very heart of the city. The appeaſing of this tumult was reſerved for Quintius alſo, who obtained, by his gentle remonſtrances, to have the law referred to the ſenate. This venerable body, after many debates, which form, rather than uncertainty, might have dictated, reſolved, that the tribunes and the people were to be gratified, and that the law was to be enacted without delay. It was paſſed by the conſent of all the orders, and the officers of the people were elected from thenceforward by the tribes. Thus the people by degrees, left the patricians nothing but the ſhadow of power, even of which the multitude, now taught the art of uniting, were reſolved to deprive them.

In the mean time Appius (as from the former part of his conduct we may well ſuppoſe) was

was far from being diſpoſed to concur in this new conceſſion of power: he treated the people with a contempt, that rather ſeemed the effect of habit than of reaſon, and inveighed againſt the ſenate's puſillanimity. Nor were the people ignorant of this, but deſired an occaſion of ſhowing their reſentment; for which an opportunity ſoon offered, upon his being appointed general againſt the Volſcians. Theſe, as uſual, had made inroads upon the unguarded frontiers of Rome; and Appius being now the commander of the army, the natural ſeverity of his temper had a field to diſplay itſelf in. The Roman diſcipline, which, at the mildeſt, was extremely rigorous, he by his ſtrictneſs rendered almoſt inſupportable. The ſoldiers but ſlowly obeyed a general they hated; and he, in return, increaſed his rigours upon the ſlowneſs of their obedience. They now, therefore, conſidered his ſeverity rather as a malicious vengeance, than a wholeſome chaſtiſement, and only awaited the enemy, to retaliate, not upon his perſon, but his glory. Accordingly the enemy appeared, and the Romans fled. He led them into the camp in order to harangue them, and they univerſally refuſed to give him an audience. He then endeavoured to draw them off from the enemy, but the whole body fled, inſtead of making a regular retreat. At length, he found means of ſecuring that part of his forces which yet remained,

mained, by encamping them in a place of ſafety; where marſhalling them in their ranks, and reviling them for their cowardice, he gave poſterity a ſtriking example of the ſeverity of Roman diſcipline, and the greatneſs of military obedience. He firſt ordered all the centurions who had fled or quitted their ranks, to be ſcourged and beheaded; he then upbraided his ſoldiers with having quitted their arms; and drawing out every tenth man, by lot, had him executed in the preſence of his trembling companions. Soldiers, with ſo much ardour for liberty in times of peace, and ſuch profound ſubmiſſion to their generals in war, were fitted to make the conqueſt of the world. Appius, however, did not long continue unmoleſted in his ſeverity; for ſome time after, the tribunes puſhed on the Agrarian law with vigour, and he perſiſting in his oppoſition, they appointed him a day to anſwer to an accuſation againſt him, of being the declared enemy of publick liberty. Appius obeyed, but appeared before the people, not in the uſual manner, in a ſupplicating dreſs or poſture, but ſpoke for himſelf with a confidence that a previous, ſettled reſolution to die had inſpired. The tribunes, finding that his innocence was too apparent to be impeached, put off his trial to another day, which he prevented by ſuicide, a practice that was now become common in Rome.

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The death of Appius, and ſome wars, or rather incurſions made by the Romans into the territories of the Volſci, ſuſpended, for a time, the people's earneſtneſs for the Agrarian law; but ſoon after, the tribunes began new commotions, and had the boldneſs to aſſert, that the people ought not only to have a ſhare in the lands, but alſo in the government of the commonwealth, and that a code of written laws ſhould be compiled, to mark out the bounds of their duty. The oppoſition to this was not leſs violent on the ſide of the patricians, who drove the clamorous multitude from the forum, headed by Cæſo, the ſon of that Quintius Cincinnatus, whom we ſhall hereafter find ſo famous for his courage and his frugality. The tribunes reſolved to make an example of this young patrician, to deter the future outrages of others; and, therefore, appointed him a day to anſwer before the people. As he was the ſon of a man entirely reſpected by both parties, he was treated with ſuch lenity, that he was admitted to baſl; but flying to Etruria, his father, Quintius Cincinnatus, was obliged to ſell almoſt his whole eſtate to re-imburſe the ſureties, and then retreating to a ſmall farm and a little cottage beyond the Tyber, lived a contented life, tilling his few acres with his own hands, and reaping the produce of his induſtry. The tribunes, however, were not ſatisfied with the expulſion

U. C. 292.

pulſion of Cæſo; they ſtill continued to clamour for the Agrarian law, and even raiſed a report, that the ſenators had formed a plot againſt their lives. This contrivance was principally intended to fright the ſenate into a compliance; but it had only the more obvious effect of increaſing the tumults of the people, and aggravating their animoſity.

In this ſtate of commotion and univerſal diſorder, Rome was upon the point of falling under the power of a foreign enemy. Herdonius, a Sabine, a man of great intrepidity and ambition, formed the deſign of ſeiſing and plundering the city, while it was employed in inteſtine diſtractions. For this purpoſe, having collected an army of about four thouſand men, compoſed of his clients and fugitive ſlaves, he ſent them down the river Tyber on floats by night; ſo that the people were aſtoniſhed the next morning, to behold a foreign enemy in poſſeſſion of the Capitol, the citadel of Rome. Herdonius, on his part, did all that was in his power to perſuade the lower citizens and ſlaves to join his party; to the one he promiſed freedom, to the other an ample participation of benefits and ſpoil. The tribunes, in this exigence, were far from exciting the people to arms; they, on the contrary, uſed all their eloquence to diſſuade them from fighting, until the patricians ſhould engage by oath, to create ten

ten men, with a power of making laws, and to ſuffer the people to have an equal ſhare in all the benefits that ſhould accrue. Theſe conditions, though very ſevere, the neceſſity of the times obliged the conſuls to promiſe; and Valerius, who was one of them, putting himſelf at the head of ſuch as offered, marched towards the Capitol, crying out, as he paſſed, "Whoever wiſhes to ſave his country, let him "follow me." A large body of people followed him to the attack, and the Capitol was at length retaken by ſtorm, but the conſul was killed in the aſſault. Herdonius ſlew himſelf, the ſlaves died by the executioner, and the reſt were made priſoners of war.

But, although the city was thus delivered from a foreign invaſion, it was by no means ſet free from its inteſtine diviſions. The tribunes preſſed the ſurviving conſul for the performance of his promiſe; but, it ſeems, the Agrarian law was a grant the ſenate could not think of giving up to the people. The conſul therefore made many delays and excuſes, till at length, being driven to give a poſitive anſwer, he told them, that as the promiſe was made by the two conſuls, he could do nothing alone. An aſſembly was now therefore appointed for chooſing another conſul; and the ſenate, in order to give the people no hopes of obtaining their wiſhes, fixed u on Quintius Cincinnatus,

cinnatus, whoſe ſon had ſo lately been obnoxious to them. Cincinnatus had, as has been already related, for ſome time given up all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the ſenate found him holding the plough, and dreſſed in the mean attire of a labouring huſbandman. He appeared but little elevated with the addreſſes of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and, upon declaring to him the ſenate's pleaſure, he teſtified rather a concern that his aid ſhould be wanted: he naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement, to the fatiguing ſplendours of office, and only ſaid to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, "my Attillia, that for this year our little fields "muſt remain unſown." Thus taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were ſtrongly enflamed againſt each other. This new conſul, however, was reſolved to ſide with neither; but, by a ſtrict attention to the intereſts of his country, inſtead of gaining the confidence of faction, to ſeiſe the eſteem of all. Thus, by threats, and well-timed ſubmiſſion, he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and carried himſelf ſo as to be a terror to the multitude, whenever they refuſed to inliſt; and their greateſt encourager whenever their ſubmiſſion deſerved it. His policy conſiſted in holding the citizens, who had regained

gained the Capitol, as ſtill engaged to follow him, by their oath, and threatening to lead them into a winter encampment, to which they were totally unaccuſtomed, in caſe they diſobeyed; by which he ſo far intimidated the tribunes, that they gave up their law, upon condition of his foregoing the threatened encampment: upon the whole, he went through his office with ſuch ſkill, moderation, humanity, and juſtice, that the people ſeemed to forget that they wanted new laws, and the ſenate ſeemed to wiſh his continuance in the conſulſhip. Thus having reſtored that tranquillity to the people, which he ſo much loved himſelf, he again gave up the ſplendours of ambition, to enjoy his little farm with a greater reliſh.

Cincinnatus was not long retired from his office, when a freſh exigence of the ſtate once more required his aſſiſtance; the Æqui and the Volſci, who, though ſtill worſted, were for renewing the war, made new inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the conſuls who ſucceeded Cincinnatus, was ſent to oppoſe them; but being naturally timid, and more afraid of being conquered, than deſirous of victory, his army was forced into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egreſs. This, however, the Æqui had the precaution to fortify; by which the Roman army was ſo hemmed in on every ſide, that nothing remained

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but ſubmiſſion to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. Some horſemen, who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the firſt that brought the account of this diſaſter to Rome. Nothing could exceed the conſternation of all ranks of people, when informed of it; the ſenate, at firſt, thought of the other conſul; but not having ſufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimouſly turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and reſolved to make him dictator. Cincinnatus, the only perſon on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found, as before, by the meſſengers of the ſenate, labouring in his little field, with chearful induſtry. He was at firſt aſtoniſhed at the enſigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to inveſt him; but ſtill more at the approach of the principal of the ſenate, who came out to meet him upon his approach. A dignity ſo unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the ſimplicity or the integrity of his manners: and being now poſſeſſed of abſolute power, and called upon to nominate his maſter of the horſe, he choſe a poor man, named Tarquitius, one who, like himſelf, deſpiſed riches when they led to diſhonour. Tarquitius was born of a patrician family, but, though of conſummate bravery, never being able to raiſe money to purchaſe an horſe, he had hitherto fought only as a foot ſoldier, willing to ſerve his country, though in

the humbleſt ſituation. Thus the ſaving a great nation was devolved upon an huſbandman, taken from the plough, and an obſcure ſentinel, found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a ſerene look, and entreated all thoſe who were able to bear arms, to repair before ſun-ſet to the Campus Martius (the place where the levies were made) with neceſſary arms, and proviſions for five days. He put himſelf at the head of theſe, and marching all night with great expedition, he arrived before day within ſight of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered his ſoldiers to raiſe a loud ſhout, to apprize the conſul's army of the relief that was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they ſaw themſelves between two enemies, but ſtill more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the ſtrongeſt entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their eſcape, and encloſing them as they had encloſed the conſul. To prevent this, a furious combat enſued; but the Æqui being attacked on both ſides, and unable to reſiſt or fly, begged a ceſſation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms: he gave them their lives; but obliged them, in token of ſervitude, to paſs under the yoke, which was two ſpears ſet upright, and another acroſs, in the form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquiſhed were to march. Their captains and generals he made priſoners of war, being reſerved to adorn his triumph.

triumph. The plunder of the enemies camp, he gave entirely up to his own ſoldiers, without reſerving any part for himſelf, or permitting thoſe of the delivered army to have a ſhare. Thus, having reſcued a Roman army from inevitable deſtruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and, ſtill more, having refuſed any part of the ſpoil, he reſigned his dictatorſhip, after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The ſenate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, chooſing to retire once more to his farm and his cottage, content with temperance and fame.

U. C. 296. The year following, the Æqui, reſolving to retrieve their loſt reputation, again marched into the field, and re-took their city. On the other hand, when levies were to be made in Rome to oppoſe their progreſs, the tribunes refuſed to let the people be enrolled. The neceſſity of the times, however, was ſuch, that an army was to be raiſed; and the ſenators, finding the reluctance of the multitude, offered to go themſelves, with their clients and dependents. So many old and reverend men, who had long been conſidered as the fathers of the ſtate, marching feebly out to meet an enemy, whom the young and the vigorous refuſed to encounter, moved the multitude to ſuch a degree, that, in ſpite of their demagogues, they offered to go, only demanding, as a recompence, to have the number of

their

their tribunes increaſed from five to ten. This ſome of the ſenate conſidered as an expedient to multiply the number of their enemies; but Cincinnatus, who judged more maturely upon the ſubject, aſſured them, it would be the moſt infallible means of debilitating that power which had ſo long controlled them; that in caſe ten were elected, in ſuch a number there were the moſt juſt expectations to bring over a part, and that a ſingle tribune could reverſe the reſolutions of all the reſt: accordingly, the ſenate readily came into his opinion, and pretending to make their compliance a favour, informed the tribunes, that they had, after much deliberation, thought proper to grant their requeſt.

This grant ſeemed for a while to ſatisfy the people; but in leſs than a year, the new tribunes, the firſt time, uniting all together, made ſtill further encroachments, and ventured, by their own authority, to order an aſſembling of the ſenate. They required alſo, that Mount Aventine, which being a mile and a half in compaſs, and as yet untenanted, might be granted to the people to build on. With this, though not till after the moſt violent conteſts, the ſenate agreed, in hopes that it might be a means of ſuppreſſing the ſeditions, which they dreaded from refuſing the Agrarian law. Nevertheleſs, in this they were diſappointed; for ſoon after, the tribunes renewed their former com-

plaints and inſolence; and the conteſts were carried on with ſo little reſtraint, that blows, and not arguments, generally terminated every deliberation. To ſuch a pitch of audaciouſneſs were they arrived, that thoſe demagogues ſet a day, even for the conſuls to appear before the people. They thought proper, however, upon cool conſideration, to let drop this inſolent proſecution; but at the ſame time reſolved not to diſcontinue their unremitting endeavours for the Agrarian law. A day accordingly was fixed, in which this important ſubject was to be diſcuſſed; and numbers of all ranks were preſent, either to give their votes or their opinions. The tribunes ſpoke largely on the juſtice of ſuch a law; ſeveral of the people related what ſervices they had done, and what trifling rewards they had obtained; the audience were prepoſſeſſed in favour of the law, but ſtill more, when Siccius Dentatus, a plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable perſon and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardſhips and his merits. This old ſoldier made no ſcruple of extolling the various achievements of his youth, but indeed his merits ennobled oſtentation. He had ſerved his country in the wars forty years; he had been an officer thirty, firſt a centurion, then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles, in which, by the force of his ſingle arm, he had

had ſaved a multitude of lives: he had gained fourteen civick, three mural, and eight golden crowns, beſides eighty-three chains, ſixty bracelets, eighteen gilt ſpears, and twenty-three horſe-trappings, whereof nine were for killing the enemy in ſingle combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds, all before; particularly, twelve on the day the Capitol was recovered from the enemy. Theſe were his pretenſions; yet he had never received any ſhare of thoſe lands which were won from the enemy, but continued to drag on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were poſſeſſed of thoſe very territories, which his valour had won, without any merit to deſerve them, or ever having contributed to the conqueſt. A caſe of ſo much hardſhip had a ſtrong effect upon the multitude; they unanimouſly demanded, that the law might be paſſed, and that ſuch merit ſhould not go unrewarded. It was in vain that ſome of the ſenators roſe up to ſpeak againſt it; their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. When reaſon, therefore, could no longer be heard, paſſion, as uſual, ſucceeded; and the young patricians running furiouſly into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and diſperſed the multitude that offered to oppoſe them. For this they were ſome time after fined by the tribunes; but

their reſolution, nevertheleſs, for the preſent put off the Agrarian law.

It generally happened in Rome, that internal commotions were quieted by foreign invaſions; and the approach of the Æqui within ſixteen miles of the city, in ſome meaſure reſtored peace to the republick. In this war Siccius Dentatus, the veteran who had harangued the people, gained greater honours than the conſul who obtained the victory; for being ordered upon a forlorn hope, to attack the enemy in a quarter where he knew they were inacceſſible, he, at firſt, remonſtrated againſt the danger and deſperation of the attempt; but being reproached by the conſul with cowardice, he led on his body of eight hundred veterans to the place, reſolved to give, by his death, a pattern of obedience; as he had, in his life, an example of reſolution. Fortune was kinder to him than his expectations; for perceiving a paſſage into the enemies camp, which had not been pointed out by the conſul, he led his veterans onward, and while the whole army amuſed the enemies on one ſide, he attacked their camp on the other, ſo that the Romans obtained a complete victory. Dentatus, however, being conſcious that he was ſent upon this dangerous ſervice, only to procure him death or infamy, had intereſt enough, upon his return, to prevent the conſul's having a triumph, as alſo to get himſelf created a tribune;

bune; likewiſe to get a law paſſed for puniſhing ſuch magiſtrates as ſhould for the future violate their authority, and for having both conſuls fined for their behaviour to him in particular. Thus the fortune, as well as the perſeverance of the tribunes, ſerved to diminiſh the patrician power every year. All their honours were now fading faſt away; their very poſſeſſions, thoſe fruits of long labour, remained feebly in ſuſpenſe, and the next popular breeze threatened to ſhake them down.

CHAP. XII.

From the Creation of the Decemviri, to the Extinction of that Office.

THE commonwealth of Rome had for near ſixty years been fluctuating between the contending orders that compoſed it, till at length, each ſide, as if weary, were willing to reſpire a while from the mutual exertions of their claims. The Agrarian law ſeemed now but little attended to, and all the animoſity which it had produced, appeared to ſubſide. But it has ever been the fate of mankind, to form new deſires, in exact proportion with the number of their poſſeſſions. The citizens, therefore, of every rank, began to complain of U. C. 302.

the arbitrary deciſions of their magiſtrates, and wiſhed to be guided by a written body of laws, which being known, might prevent wrongs, as well as puniſh them. In this, both the ſenate and the people concurred, as hoping that ſuch laws would put an end to the commotions that ſo long had haraſſed the ſtate. It was thereupon agreed, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home ſuch laws from thence, as by experience had been found moſt equitable and uſeful. For this purpoſe, three ſenators, Poſthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and gallies aſſigned to convoy them, agreeable to the majeſty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commiſſion abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and ſupplied the interval of their abſence with other anxieties than that of wiſhes for their return. In about a year the plague ceaſed, and the ambaſſadors returned, bringing home a body of laws, collected from the moſt civilized ſtates of Greece and Italy, which being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code, called the laws of the twelve tables, many fragments of which remain to this day.

The ambaſſadors were no ſooner returned, than the tribunes required, that a body of men ſhould be choſen to digeſt their new laws into

proper

proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. After long debates whether this choice ſhould not be partly made from the people as well as the patricians, it was at laſt agreed that ten of the principal ſenators ſhould be elected, whoſe power continuing for a year, ſhould be equal to that of kings and conſuls, and that without any appeal. That all other magiſtrates ſhould lay down their offices, until the laws ſhould direct proper ſubſtitutes; and that the new legiſlators ſhould, in the mean time, exerciſe their authority with all the enſigns of the diſcontinued power of the former. The perſons choſen were, Appius and Genutius, who had been elected conſuls for the enſuing year; Poſthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambaſſadors; Sextus and Romulus, former conſuls; with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius, ſenators of the firſt conſideration. Thus the whole conſtitution of the ſtate at once took a new form, and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation, by laws formed from the manners and cuſtoms of another.

The decemviri being now inveſted with abſolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, and that each ſhould diſpenſe juſtice for a day. They agreed alſo, to avoid envy, that he alone who was in the actual exerciſe of power, ſhould be attended with the enſigns of it; and that each of the reſt ſhould be

only preceded by a petty officer, called Accenſus, to diſtinguiſh him from the vulgar.

The novelty of this form of government ſeemed extremely pleaſing to the people at firſt; nor was the moderation of the decemviri themſelves leſs praiſe-worthy. Appius, in particular, bore away the greateſt ſhare of popularity; his affable air, his republican profeſſions, and his moderation, made the people even forget his anceſtors, or that they once trembled at the name. Theſe magiſtrates, for the firſt year, wrought with extreme application: they had not only to compile from a great variety of Greek laws, but they were obliged alſo to get them interpreted by one Hermodorus, an Epheſian, as they themſelves were ignorant of the language; a ſtrong inſtance how little at this time the Romans were advanced in the arts of politeneſs. At length, however, by the help of their interpreter, they formed a body of laws from thoſe brought from Greece, and from the ordinances of their own kings; the whole compriſed in ten tables. Theſe were agreed to by the body of the people, engraven on plates of braſs, and hung up in publick view, in the moſt conſpicuous part of the forum.

Their work being thus finiſhed, it was expected that the decemviri would be contented to give up their offices; but having known the charms of power, they were now unwilling to reſign

reſign it: they therefore pretended that ſome laws were yet wanting to complete their deſign, and intreated the ſenate for a continuance of their offices; to which that body aſſented. The choice of perſons was next the object of publick conſideration. Appius, burning with a ſecret thirſt for power, feigned himſelf quite diſguſted with the fatigues of the office, and wiſhed only for an able ſucceſſor. Nevertheleſs, under-hand he contrived to put all thoſe popular arts in practice, which he knew would, upon his ſtanding candidate, ſecure his election. Accordingly, when the day came, his colleagues were ſurpriſed to ſee him the firſt upon the liſt of thoſe who ſtood for the office; and ſtill more, when they found him elected by a great majority of the giddy people, who miſtook his ambition for popularity. His friends alſo were elected through his influence. Fabius, Cornelius, Servilius, Minutius, Antonius, and Rabulius, who were patricians; together with the plebeians Petillius, Oppius, and Duellius, formed the ſecond decemvirate. Theſe three laſt were choſen from among the people by the intereſt of Appius, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the multitude, obſerved, that it was very proper the people ſhould have a ſhare in forming thoſe laws, by which the people were to be governed.

Appius

Appius being thus reinſtated in his high office, turned all his thoughts towards making it formidable and perpetual: he therefore convened his colleagues, and knowing them to be all his creatures, he opened to them his deſign of retaining the power of which they had been put into poſſeſſion. As they had been previouſly inſtructed, they readily came into his propoſal, and bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn vows, never to diſſent from each other; never to give up their authority; and not to make uſe of the opinions either of the ſenate or the people, but in caſes of downright neceſſity. Now, therefore, the decemvirate put on a very different appearance from that of the former year: inſtead only of one of them being attended by his rods and axes, each made his appearance with thoſe enſigns of terrour and authority. Inſtead of magiſtrates, mild, juſt, and affable, the people beheld them converted into monſters of rapine, licentiouſneſs, and cruelty. They only made uſe of the forms of juſtice to put many of the citizens to death, and deprive others of their eſtates and country. Accuſers and informers were ſuborned from among their dependents, ready to give evidence as they were commanded; while thoſe who expected redreſs in any ſuit of juſtice, had no proſpect of ſucceſs, but to enter into a criminal confederacy with their judges. Thus an univerſal corruption began to ſpread

itſelf

itſelf over the people, while the good and the wiſe either baniſhed themſelves from Rome, or inwardly repined at its diſtreſs.

But as ſuch power could not long continue without ſome of the uſual arts of deception, which tyranny muſt ſometimes ſtoop to, the decemviri, in order to ſhow the people, that they were not unmindful of their duty, added two tables more of laws to thoſe already promulgated, which all together formed, as we have already ſaid, that body of laws known by the name of the twelve tables. In theſe laſt there was a law, prohibiting all marriages between the patricians and plebeians; by which they hoped to widen the breach between the two orders, and thus avail themſelves of their mutual animoſity. Their deſigns, however, were eaſily ſeen through; but the people bore them with patience, for the time of the expiration of their office was now at hand, in which it was expected they would lay down their miſuſed authority. But they ſoon threw off the maſk, and, regardleſs either of the approbation of the ſenate or the people, continued themſelves, againſt all order, another year in the decemvirate. A conduct ſo notorious produced new diſcontents, and theſe were as ſure to produce freſh acts of tyranny. The city was become almoſt a deſert, with reſpect to all who had any thing to loſe, and the decemvirs' rapacity was then

then only diſcontinued, when they wanted freſh objects to exerciſe it upon. In this ſtate of ſlavery, proſcription, and mutual diſtruſt, not one citizen was found to ſtrike for his country's freedom; theſe tyrants continued to rule without control, being conſtantly guarded, not with their lictors alone, but a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricans, whom their vices had confederated round them.

In this gloomy ſituation of the ſtate, the Æqui and Volſci, thoſe conſtant enemies of the Romans, renewed their incurſions, reſolved to profit by the inteſtine diviſions of the people, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome. This was an unexpected ſtroke to the decemviri, who had no authority to raiſe an army themſelves; and, therefore, went reluctantly to aſk aid from the ſenate, whoſe deliberations had been long ſuſpended. In this preſſing juncture, the ſenate was, at laſt, called together; where Appius, in a premeditated oration, propounded the buſineſs for which they were convened. He then deſired that each ſhould ſpeak his ſentiments as he named them; but Valerius, the grandſon of Publicola, riſing out of his turn, he was ordered by the tyrant to ſit down. Valerius, however, would not obey, but violently inveighed againſt the tyranny of the decemvirate, and their effrontery, in expecting that the ſenate, whoſe power they had deſtroyed,

ſhould

ſhould now take meaſures to ſupport their betrayers. His ſpeech was ſeconded by Marcus Horatius, who, with ſtill greater freedom, expoſed their horrid invaſion of the rights of their country, their outrages, their rapines, and their cruelty. Appius, at firſt, ſeemed to bear this harangue with patience; but at laſt his paſſions, long uſed to indulgence, could no longer keep within reſtraint; he flew out into violence, raged againſt his oppoſers, and threatened to have Horatius thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. All the ſenators exclaimed againſt this infringement of the liberty of free debate, as the higheſt breach of their privileges, and an intolerable act of power. Whereat the decemvir, a little repenting his raſhneſs, began to excuſe himſelf, ſaying, that he was willing to give liberty to all deliberations upon the queſtion, but could not bear an oration, which, leaving the point in debate, only ſeemed calculated to promote ſedition. That he and his colleagues had received an unlimited power from the people, till the great work of forming the laws was finiſhed; during which they were reſolved to act to the extent of their power, and then would be anſwerable for their adminiſtration. This was a ſufficient diſplay of their intentions; all the uninfluenced part of the ſenate, particularly Claudius, the uncle of Appius, ſpoke with deteſtation of their proceedings; but a large party in the

the houſe, whom the decemviri had previouſly formed, and ſtill others whom their fears had biaſſed, ſhowed themſelves inclined to agree with Appius, in whatever he ſhould propoſe. He therefore demanded, that he and his colleagues ſhould have a power of levying and commanding the forces that were to go againſt the Æqui; and immediately a decree of the ſenate paſſed, confirming this propoſal.

The decemviri, now in poſſeſſion of all the military as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Appius in the city, to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one againſt the Æqui, and the other againſt the Sabines. The Roman ſoldiers had lately got into a method of puniſhing the generals whom they diſliked, by ſuffering themſelves to be vanquiſhed in the field. They put it in practice upon this occaſion, and ſhamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome, than the tidings of this defeat; the generals, as is always the caſe, were blamed for the treachery of their men; ſome demanded that they ſhould be depoſed, others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conqueſt; but among the reſt, old Siccius Dentatus, the tribune, ſpoke his ſentiments with his uſual openneſs; and treating the gene-

rals with contempt, ſhowed all the faults of their diſcipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius, in the mean time, was not remiſs in obſerving the diſpoſition of the people. Dentatus in particular was marked out for vengeance, and, under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the ſupplies which were ſent from Rome, to re-enforce the army. The office of legate was held ſacred among the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general, with the reverence due to the prieſthood. Dentatus, no way ſuſpecting any deſign, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of reſpect. But the generals ſoon found means of indulging their deſire of revenge. He was appointed at the head of an hundred men to examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly aſſured the commanders, that their preſent ſituation was wrong. The ſoldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were aſſaſſins; wretches who had long been miniſters of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all thoſe apprehenſions, which his reputation, as he was called the Roman Achilles, might be ſuppoſed to inſpire. With theſe deſigns they led him from the way into the hollow boſom of a retired mountain, where they began to ſet upon him from behind. Dentatus

tatus too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was reſolved to ſell his life as dearly as he could; he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himſelf againſt thoſe who preſſed moſt cloſely. Though now grown old, he had ſtill the remains of his former valour, and killed no leſs than fifteen of the aſſailants, and wounded thirty with his own hand. The aſſaſſins therefore, terrified at his amazing bravery, ſhowered in their javelins upon him at a diſtance, all which he received in his ſhield with undaunted reſolution. The combat, though ſo unequal in numbers, was managed for ſome time with doubtful ſucceſs, till at length his aſſailants bethought themſelves of aſcending the rock, againſt which he ſtood, and thus poured down ſtones upon him from above. This ſucceeded; the old ſoldier fell beneath their united efforts, after having ſhown by his death, that he owed it to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off ſo many times victorious. The decemviri pretended to join in the general ſorrow for ſo brave a man, and decreed him a funeral, with the firſt military honours: but the greatneſs of their apparent diſtreſs, compared with their known hatred, only rendered them ſtill more deteſtable to the people. A tranſaction ſtill more atrocious than the former, ſerved to inſpire the citizens with reſolution to break all

meaſures

meaſures of obedience, and at laſt to reſtore freedom.

Appius, who ſtill remained at Rome, ſitting one day on his tribunal to diſpenſe juſtice, ſaw a maiden of exquiſite beauty, aged about fifteen, paſſing to one of the publick ſchools, attended by a matron, her nurſe. The charms of this damſel heightened by all the innocence of virgin modeſty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as ſhe paſt he found her ſtill more beautiful than before, and his breaſt ſtill more enflamed. He therefore reſolved to obtain the gratification of his paſſion, whatever ſhould be the conſequence, and found means to inform himſelf of the virgin's name and family. Her name was Virginia. She was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the preſent campaign. Appius, at firſt, reſolved to break this match, and to eſpouſe her; but the laws of the twelve tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians, and he could not infringe theſe, as he was the enactor of them. Nothing therefore remained for him to attempt but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long uſed to the indulgence of his paſſions, he reſolved to obtain. After having vainly tried to corrupt the

fidelity of her nurſe, he had recourſe to another expedient ſtill more guilty. He pitched upon one Claudius, who had long been the miniſter of his pleaſures, to aſſert that the beautiful maid was his ſlave, and to refer the cauſe to his tribunal for deciſion. Claudius behaved exactly according to his inſtructions, for entering into the ſchool, where Virginia was placed among her female companions, he ſeiſed upon her as his property, and was going to drag her away by force, but was prevented by the people drawn together by her cries. At length, after the firſt heat of oppoſition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plauſibly ſupported his pretenſions. He aſſerted that ſhe was born in his houſe, of a female ſlave, and ſold by her to the wife of Virginius, who had been barren. That he had ſeveral credible evidences to prove the truth of what he ſaid; but that, until they could come together, it was but reaſonable the ſlave ſhould be delivered into his cuſtody, being her proper maſter.

Appius ſeemed to be ſtruck with the juſtice of his claims; he obſerved, that if the reputed father were preſent, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maiden for ſome time, but that it was not lawful for him in the preſent caſe, to detain her from her lawful maſter. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius, as his ſlave,

to

to be kept by him till Virginius ſhould be able to prove his paternity. This ſentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude; the women in particular came round the innocent Virginia, as if willing to protect her from the judge's fury; while Icilius, her lover, boldly oppoſed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open inſurrection, when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to ſuſpend his judgement till the arrival of Virginius, who was then about eleven miles from Rome, with the army. The day following was fixed for the trial; and in the mean time, Appius ſent letters to the generals to confine Virginius, as his arrival in town might only ſerve to kindle ſedition among the people. Theſe letters, however, were intercepted by the centurion's friends, who ſent him a full relation of the deſign laid againſt the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginius upon this, pretending the death of a near relation, got permiſſion to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inſpired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly, the next day he appeared before the tribunal, to the aſtoniſhment of Appius, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepeſt mourning. Claudius, the accuſer, was alſo

there, and began by making his demand; he ſaid it was well known, that the children of ſlaves belonged to the maſters of their parents, and that Virginia was born in ſlavery. He obſerved, that pity might be an inducement to many to forego their claims, but that he would ſacrifice all minuter conſiderations to juſtice. He then produced a female ſlave, whom he had corrupted, to ſwear that ſhe had ſold Virginia to the wife of her reputed father; and ended his pretenſions by aſſerting, that he could confirm her teſtimony by that of many others, had it been needful. Virginius next ſpoke, he repreſented that his wife had many children; that her pregnancy was known to all her neighbours; that, if he had intentions of adopting a ſuppoſititious child, he would have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had ſuckled her own child; and that it was ſurpriſing ſuch a claim ſhould be revived, after fifteen years diſcontinuance.

While the father ſpoke this with a ſtern air, Virginia ſtood trembling by, and, with looks of perſuaſive innocence, added weight to all his remonſtrances. The people ſeemed entirely ſatisfied of the hardſhip of his caſe, till Appius, fearing what he ſaid might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under a pretence of being ſufficiently inſtructed in the merits

merits of the cauſe. "Yes (ſays he) my con-
"ſcience obliges me to declare, that I myſelf
"am a witneſs to the truth of the depoſition of
"Claudius. Moſt of this aſſembly know that
"I was left guardian to this youth, and I was
"very early appriſed, that he had a right to
"this young woman; but the affairs of the
"publick, and the diſſenſions of the people,
"then prevented my doing juſtice. How-
"ever, it is not now too late; and, by the power
"veſted in me for the publick good, I adjudge
"Virginia to be the property of Claudius, the
"plaintiff. Go therefore, lictors, diſperſe the
"multitude, and make room for a maſter to
"repoſſeſs himſelf of his ſlave."

The lictors, in obedience to his command, ſoon drove off the throng that preſſed round the tribunal; they then ſeiſed upon Virginia, and were delivering her into the hands of Claudius, when Virginius, who found that all further efforts would prove ineffectual, ſeemed to acquieſce in the ſentence. He therefore mildly intreated Appius to be permitted to take a laſt farewell of one whom he had long conſidered as his child; and, ſo ſatisfied, he would return to his duty with freſh alacrity. With this the decemvir complied, but upon condition, that their endearments ſhould paſs in his preſence. Virginius, with the moſt poignant anguiſh, took his almoſt expiring daughter in his arms, for a

while ſupported her head upon his breaſt, and wiped away the tears that rolled down her lovely viſage; happening to be near the ſhops that ſurrounded the forum, he ſnatched up a knife that lay on the ſhambles, and addreſſing his daughter, "My deareſt, loſt child (cried he) "this, this alone can preſerve your honour and "your freedom." So ſaying, he buried the weapon in her breaſt, and then holding it up, reeking with the blood of his daughter, "Ap-"pius (he cried) by the blood of this inno-"cent, I devote thy head to the infernal gods." So ſaying, with the bloody knife in his hand, and threatening deſtruction towhomſoever ſhould oppoſe him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to ſtrike for freedom; and from thence went to the camp, in order to ſpread a like flame through the army.

He no ſooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, than he informed the army of all that was done, ſtill holding the bloody knife in his hand. He aſked their pardon, and the pardon of the gods, for having committed ſo raſh an action, but aſcribed it all to the dreadful neceſſity of the times. He implored them, by that blood which was dearer to him than his own, to redeem their ſinking country; obſerving, that no military oaths could bind men to commanders, who were all uſurpers, and could pretend to no real autho-

authority. The army, already prediſpoſed, immediately with ſhouts echoed their aſſent, and decamping left their generals behind, to take their ſtation once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army, which had been to oppoſe the Sabines, ſeemed to adopt a like reſentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

Appius, in the mean time, did all he could to quell the diſturbances in the city; but finding the tumult incapable of being controlled, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the moſt active in oppoſition, he at firſt attempted to find ſafety by flight; nevertheleſs, being encouraged by Oppius, who was one of his colleagues, he ventured to aſſemble the ſenate, and urged the puniſhment to be inflicted upon deſerters. The ſenate, however, were far from giving him the relief he ſought for; they foreſaw the dangers and miſeries that threatened the ſtate, in caſe of oppoſing the incenſed army; they therefore deſpatched meſſengers to them, offering to reſtore their former mode of government. To this propoſal the people joyfully aſſented, and the army obeying, returned to the city, if not with the enſigns, at leaſt with the pleaſure, of a triumphant entry.

Thus ended the decemvirate, after having continued ſomewhat leſs than three years. I

have given the picture of this adminiſtration, after the Roman hiſtorians, aggravated with all the invectives with which they uſually load it. However, if there be any part of their hiſtory, in which they ſhow a manifeſt prejudice, it is here. The charges againſt the decemviri, of rapine and murther, are all, except one or two, merely general; and of theſe which are ſpecified, the facts do not ſeem to ſupport the accuſation. However, the limits I have aſſigned myſelf in this work, are too ſhort to permit a diſcuſſion of their veracity, and perhaps too it is our wiſeſt way, at this diſtant period, to take the accounts as given us by the hiſtorians of the time, and not to ſhow the affectation of ſagacity, by attempting to new ſtate an evidence which has been credited through ſucceſſive ages. It may be neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that the laws promulgated by this body of men, were reckoned an admirable compilation; and ever after, in Rome, and in moſt parts of Europe, even to this day, they have continued among lawyers to be of the greateſt authority.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

From the Expulſion of the Decemviri, to the burning of Rome by the Gauls.

THE people, now freed from a yoke which they had laid upon themſelves, elected Valerius and Horatius conſuls for the enſuing part of the year; and Virginius and Icilius, of the number of their tribunes. The puniſhment of the decemviri was what firſt engaged the attention of theſe popular magiſtrates; and Appius was appointed a day to anſwer the charges brought againſt him of tyranny and murder. Oppius, one of his colleagues, next to him in guilt, was alſo arraigned; but both too well ſaw what mercy they had to expect, either from their judges, who were profeſſed enemies, or from the people, whoſe reſentment they had but too frequently incurred: they, therefore, reſolved to prevent that fury which they could not withſtand; and both died by their own hands in priſon. The other eight went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended maſter of Virginia, was baniſhed. Thus the vengeance of the tribunes purſued theſe devoted men, and ſeemed as yet unſatisfied with puniſhing. They were preparing to out-go thoſe whom U. C. 304.

whom they had depoſed for cruelty, in acts of oppreſſion; and the ſenate began to tremble at ſeeing ſo many of their members devoted to deſtruction. Duillius, however, one of the tribunes, being more moderate than the reſt of his colleagues, quieted their fears by openly profeſſing, that no more blood ſhould be ſhed on this occaſion; that ſufficient vengeance had been taken for the death of Virginia, and that he forbade all future proſecutions on that account.

This, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied the ſenate for the preſent; but they ſoon found cauſe of freſh reſentment. The two new conſuls ſeemed intirely to have abandoned the intereſts of the patricians; and, equally popular with the tribunes themſelves, to ſtudy only the gratification of the people. They procured a law, by which each of the plebeians ſhould, in his individual capacity, have as much influence in all elections and deliberations whatſoever, as any one of the patricians; which gave the finiſhing blow to all diſtinction between them. A law ſo injurious to the power of the ſenate, produced, as may be eaſily ſuppoſed, a deſire to mortify the conſuls; who only aimed at increaſing their own influence, by the depreſſion of that body. An opportunity for this ſoon offered; for the conſuls, having marched againſt the Æqui and Sabines, gained a complete victory, and demanded a triumph.

umph. The ſenate, however, were reſolved not to comply, and declared them unworthy of that honour. The conſuls appealed to the people, and complaining loudly againſt the ſenate, procured a law for the privilege of a triumph, by the authority of the plebeians alone. Thus the two orders of the ſtate continued for ſome years mutually oppoſing each other; the patricians defending the ſmall ſhadow of diſtinction which they had left; and the people daily inſiſting upon freſh conceſſions, as if their appetites increaſed by what was granted to ſatisfy them.

In the mean time, theſe inteſtine tumults produced weakneſs within the ſtate, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the Æqui and Volſci ſtill continued, and as each year ſome trifling advantages were obtained over the Romans, they, at laſt, advanced ſo far, as to make their incurſions to the very walls of Rome. But not the courage only of the Romans ſeemed diminiſhed by theſe conteſts, but their other virtues alſo, particularly their juſtice. About this time, the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, Ardea and Aricia, had a conteſt between themſelves, about ſome lands that had long been claimed by both. At length being unable to agree, they referred it to the ſenate and people of Rome. The ſenate had yet ſome of the principles of primitive juſtice remaining, and refuſed to determine the diſpute.

U. C. 309.

diſpute. But the people readily undertook the deciſion, and one Scaptius, an old man, declaring, that theſe very lands of right belonged to Rome, they immediately voted themſelves to be the legal poſſeſſors, and ſent home the former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injuſtice.

The tribunes now grew more and more turbulent; and having come into a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration of ſome departments of government, nothing would ſatisfy them, without having a participation of the whole. With theſe views they propoſed two laws; one to permit plebeians to intermarry with patricians; and the other, to permit them to be admitted to the conſulſhip alſo. The ſenators received theſe propoſals with their accuſtomed indignation, and ſeemed reſolved to undergo the utmoſt extremities, rather than ſubmit to enact them. However, finding their reſiſtance only increaſe the commotions of the ſtate, they, at laſt, conſented to paſs the law concerning marriages, hoping that this conceſſion would ſatisfy the people. But they were appeaſed but for a very ſhort time; for returning to their old cuſtom of refuſing to inliſt upon the approach of the enemy, the conſuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the ſenate; where, after many debates, Claudius propoſed an expedient, as the moſt probable means of ſatisfying the people

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in the preſent conjuncture. This was by no means to contaminate the conſulſhip, by ſuffering it to come into the hands of the people; but to create ſix or eight governors in the room of conſuls, whereof, one half, at leaſt, ſhould be patricians. This project which was but a poor ſubterfuge, and was, in fact, granting what the people demanded, pleaſed the whole meeting; and, that nothing might ſeem pre-concerted among them, they agreed, that at the next publick meeting of the ſenate, the conſuls ſhould, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, begin by aſking the opinion of the youngeſt ſenator; whereas, formerly, they always began by aſking that of the ſenior. Upon aſſembling the ſenate, one of the tribunes accuſed them of holding ſecret meetings, and managing dangerous deſigns againſt the people. The conſuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonſtrate their ſincerity, gave any of the younger members of the houſe leave to propound their opinions. Theſe remaining ſilent, ſuch of the older ſenators as were known to be popular, began by obſerving, that the people ought to be indulged in their requeſt; that none ſo well deſerved power, as thoſe who were moſt inſtrumental in gaining it; and that the city could not be free until all were reduced to perfect equality.

Claudius, as was agreed upon ſpoke next; and, though very willing to advance the intentions

of

of thoſe who ſpoke before him, in order to conceal his deſigns, broke out into bitter invectives againſt the people; aſſerting, that it was his opinion that the law ſhould not paſs. This produced ſome diſturbance among the plebeians; but at length, Genutius, as if to moderate between the ſenate and the people, propoſed, as had been preconcerted, that ſix governors ſhould be annually choſen, with conſular authority, three from the ſenate, and three from the people; and that when the time of their magiſtracy ſhould be expired, then it would be ſeen whether they would have the ſame office continued, or whether the conſulſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people, becauſe it promiſed ſomething new; and leave was given to any of the plebeians to ſtand for this new office. Yet ſo fickle were the multitude, that though many of their own rank ſtood, not one of them was thought worthy of the honour, and the choice wholly fell upon the patricians, who offered themſelves as candidates.

U. C. 310. Thus a new form of government was to be tried, the people ſtill miſtaking change for improvement. Theſe new magiſtrates were called Military Tribunes; they were at firſt but three, afterwards they were increaſed to four, and at length to ſix. They had the power and the enſigns of conſuls, yet their power being divided

among a number, each ſingly was of leſs authority. The firſt that were choſen, only continued in their office about three months, the augurs having found ſomething amiſs in the ceremonies of their election.

The military tribunes being depoſed, the conſuls once more came into office; and, in order to lighten the weight of buſineſs which they were obliged to ſuſtain, a new office was elected; namely, that of Cenſor, to be choſen every fifth year. Their buſineſs was to take an eſtimate of the number and eſtates of the people, and to diſtribute them into their proper claſſes; to inſpect into the lives and manners of their fellow citizens; to degrade ſenators for miſconduct; to diſmount knights, and to turn down plebeians from their tribes into an inferior, in caſe of miſdemeanour. The two firſt cenſors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for near an hundred years.

This creation ſerved to reſtore peace for ſome time among the orders, and a triumph gained over the Volſcians, by Geganius the conſul, added to the univerſal ſatisfaction that reigned among the people. As it was obſerved of the Greeks, that a victory gained at the Olympick games raiſed the conqueror to the higheſt pitch of human ſplendour, ſo it might be ſaid of the Romans, that a triumph was the greateſt honour

nour they had any idea of. For this their generals fought, not leſs than for the benefit of the ſtate; and the people alſo, when entertained with ſuch ſpectacles, forgot their private diſtreſſes in an empty notion of their country's glory.

U. C. 274. This calm, however, was but of ſhort continuance; for ſome time after, a famine preſſing hard upon the poor, the uſual complaints againſt the rich were renewed; and theſe, as before, proving ineffectual, produced new ſeditions. The conſuls were accuſed of neglect, in not having laid in proper quantities of corn; they, however, diſregarded the murmurs of the populace, content with exerting all their care in attempts to ſupply the preſſing neceſſities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magiſtrates, in providing and diſtributing proviſions to the poor; yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had purchaſed all the corn of Tuſcany, by far outſhone them in liberality. This demagogue, who had long beheld the ſtruggles of the ſtate, was inflamed with a ſecret deſire of becoming powerful by its contentions: he therefore diſtributed corn in great quantities among the poorer ſort each day, till at laſt his houſe became the aſylum of all ſuch as wiſhed to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus ſeduced a ſufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be purchaſed and brought into his

his houſe by night, and formed a plan of conſpiracy, by which he was to be made commander, while ſome of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him, in ſeiſing upon the liberties of his country. Minucius, at that time appointed to the care of providing for the people, ſoon diſcovered the plot that was thus formed againſt their freedom; and informing the ſenate of the particulars, they immediately formed a reſolution of creating a dictator, who ſhould have the power of quelling the conſpiracy, without appealing to the people, Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was choſen once more to reſcue his country from impending danger. He began by ſummoning Mælius to appear; who being, as he thought, ſufficiently ſupported by the multitude, refuſed to obey. Cincinnatus next ſent Ahala, his maſter of the horſe, to force him; who preſſing Mælius to follow him to the dictator's tribunal, upon his refuſal, Ahala killed him upon the ſpot. The dictator applauded the reſolution of the officer, and commanded the conſpirator's goods to be ſold, and his houſe to be demoliſhed, diſtributing his ſtores among the people.

The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and in order, in ſome meaſure, to puniſh the ſenate at the next election, inſtead of conſuls, inſiſted upon re-

U. C. 315. ſtoring their military tribunes. With this the ſenate were obliged to comply; and, though the plebeians had a right of being taken into the office, three patricians, as in the former election, were again choſen. The next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, and conſuls were choſen.

During theſe conteſts, the Veians and the Volſcians proceeded with their cuſtomary incurſions, and even the allies of Rome began to waver in their allegiance. Fidenæ, an ancient colony belonging to the Romans, revolted to Tolumnius, king of the Veians; and ſtill more to increaſe their crime, murdered the ambaſſadors who were ſent to complain of their infidelity. To puniſh this conduct with ſignal vengeance, a dictator was appointed, and the choice fell upon Mamercus Æmilius. A victory was obtained over the Veii; the king of their nation was ſlain; and Æmilius marched back to Rome, with all the enſigns of triumph, enriched by the ſpoils of a king.

It ſhould ſeem now, as if the ſenate and conſuls could carry on no buſineſs by their own authority alone, ſince we find them, the year following, creating another dictator, to oppoſe a threatened confederacy of the Veian nations. Servilius Priſcus was choſen to this high office. The year ſucceeding we read of Æmilius, who had

had been dictator ſo lately before, being again choſen. He having no employment abroad, was reſolved to do ſomething at home, and accordingly cauſed the cenſorſhip, which had been before appointed to continue eight years, to be held but for one year and a half; for which the cenſors ſoon after fined and degraded him, upon laying down his office. This conduct of theirs, on the other hand, enraged the people; and, inſtead of conſuls, military tribunes were the next time choſen. In about four U. C. 320.
years after, conſuls were introduced again, and upon a threatened invaſion of the Æqui, a dictator, Poſthumius Tubero, was created, who cloſed his dictatorſhip with a triumph. Four U. C. 326.
years after this, the fluctuation of councils eſtabliſhed military tribunes again, and their want of ſucceſs in war obliged the people to create Æmilius, for the third time, dictator, who gained another triumph. For two years after this, military tribunes continued; then conſuls, and then tribunes again: thus the ſtate continued to fluctuate between the different orders, for more than fifteen years; during which time, there was but little of any thing important tranſacted, either abroad or at home: the ſenate ſeemed to have loſt all its authority, and the people all their military virtue. The former, who were poſſeſſed of the riches of the ſtate, ſeemed willing to grant all their privi-

leges, in order to ſecure their property from the Agrarian law; and the people employed ſo much time in attending the harangues of their tribunes, that they became poor, diſcontented, and noiſy. Whenever the approach of an enemy was talked of, the danger was ſo magnified, by either the fears or the real weakneſs of the ſtate, that nothing but that deſperate method of chooſing a dictator could be found to oppoſe it. So that in a period of twenty years, we find the people above ten times giving up their liberty, their poſſeſſions, and their lives, to one of their fellow citizens, and only indebted for their ſafety to his virtues. Thus after Æmilius, Servilius Priſcus was again choſen, whom we have mentioned as thrice dictator before, and after him Cornelius Coſſus. Theſe abſolute magiſtrates, it is true, in ſome meaſure reſtored diſcipline to the army, and increaſed the territories of the ſtate; but it was purchaſing conqueſt too dear, to give up all that was valuable in life to obtain it. The ill effects indeed of their abſolute authority were not diſcovered till many years after; at preſent, the ſenate ſeemed pleaſed with electing a magiſtrate out of their own body, who could intimidate the people: the multitude, on the other hand, were eager to follow and obey one who generally led them to conqueſt and plunder; for the dictators uſually divided the ſpoils of the

conquered

conquered towns among them, in order to increaſe their own popularity. Thus the plunder of Anxur, a city taken from the Volſcians, ſeemed to diffuſe a new ſpirit amongſt them; which, however, continued no longer than until their neceſſities called for a new ſupply.

Things continued in this ſtate of commotion for a long time, factions becoming every day ſtronger, and the government weaker; the tribunes of the people ſtill augmenting the breach between the orders of the commonwealth, and calling their licentiouſneſs liberty. At length, however, the ſenate hit upon an expedient, which ſerved greatly to increaſe their own power, and at the ſame time was highly pleaſing to the people, though it muſt be owned, it ſerved to ſhow how greatly the Romans were fallen from their former virtues. The citizens, who went to the field, had hitherto fought their country's battles without pay; they were huſbandmen and ſoldiers; the ſame hands that drew the ſword in one ſeaſon, were ſeen holding the plough in another, and they were obliged to furniſh not only their own arms, but their own proviſions during the campaign. In theſe difficulties, however, they chearfully acquieſced, as the hopes of plunder, and the honours of returning in triumph, were conſidered as an ample compenſation. Nevertheleſs, it ſometimes fell out, that if the campaign was

of long continuance, their little farms remained untilled, and they themſelves were reduced the next ſeaſon to extreme indigence. Hence they were obliged to incur debts, and hence proceeded that various train of extortions, uſuries, and petty cruelties, which the creditors made uſe of to oppreſs the people. To remedy theſe evils, the ſenate unanimouſly came to a reſolution of paying the ſoldiery out of the treaſury; and for this purpoſe they laid on a new tax, from which none of the citizens were to be exempted. This regulation, in ſome meaſure, gave a new turn to the Roman method of making war; as what might before have been called incurſions, were now become regular, lengthened campaigns. The ſenate was no longer to be obliged to the tribunes, in order to raiſe an army, as the people would gladly inliſt, ſince they were ſure of their reward. Nothing therefore could exceed their joy upon this occaſion; they ſurrounded the ſenate houſe with acclamations, they offered to follow their conſcript fathers wherever they ſhould lead them, and promiſed never to murmur more.

U. C. 347. The ſenate, thus reconciled to the people, and now become maſters of an army that they could keep in the field as long as they thought proper, reſolved to take ſignal vengeance of the Veians, and beſiege their capital city, though the attempt ſhould endanger their own. The city of Veii had

had long been a flouriſhing, ſtrong, and formidable place; it was ſeated upon a rock, and furniſhed with reſolute and numerous defenders. It had lately changed its form of government, from republican into that of kingly; and ſuch a change being diſliked by the allies of this ſtate, contributed, in ſome meaſure to their tamely ſuffering it to be ſurrounded by the Roman army. The Romans, indeed, had every reaſon to inſpire them with reſentment. The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome; they had ever taken the opportunity of its internal diſtreſſes to ravage its territories, and had even treated its ambaſſadors, ſent to complain of theſe injuries, with outrage. It ſeemed now therefore, determined, that Veii, whatever it ſhould coſt, was to fall; and the Romans accordingly ſat regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful reſiſtance. The ſtrength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the ſiege, which laſted for ten years; during which time, the army continued encamped round it, lying, in winter, under tents, made of the ſkins of beaſts, and in ſummer, driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the ſucceſs, and many were the commanders that directed the ſiege; ſometimes all the beſiegers works were deſtroyed, and many of their men cut off by ſallies from the town; ſometimes they were annoyed by an

army of Veians, who attempted to bring aſſiſtance from without. A ſiege ſo bloody ſeemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itſelf, by draining its forces continually away; ſo that a law was obliged to be made, for all the bachelors to marry the widows of the ſoldiers who were ſlain. The tribunes of the people alſo did not fail to render this great undertaking ſtill more arduous by their continual murmurs and ſkill in raiſing diſſenſions at home. They blamed the commanders, and prohibited the taxes from being raiſed, which were to pay the ſoldiery; and, ſtill more to perplex the ſenate, they began to make new propoſals for paſſing the Agrarian law.

Such diſſenſion among the Romans, and ſo much obſtinacy on the part of the Veii, began to depreſs the ſanguine expectations of the ſenate; they trembled for the conſequences of ſo much blood and treaſure expended in an ineffectual ſiege; therefore, willing to ſtrike one vigorous blow before relinquiſhing their favourite aim, they created Furius Camillus dictator, and to him was entruſted the ſole power of managing the long protracted war. Camillus was a man who, without intrigue or any ſollicitation, had raiſed himſelf to the firſt eminence in the ſtate: he had been made one of the cenſors ſome time before; and was conſidered as the head of that office; he was afterwards made a military tribune, and had in this

poſt gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. It was his great courage and abilities in the above offices, that rendered him moſt worthy to ſerve his country on this preſſing occaſion. Upon his appointment, numbers of the people flocked to his ſtandard, confident of ſucceſs under ſo experienced a commander. He accordingly drew out his forces againſt the enemy, and overthrew the Faliſci, one of the little powers confederated againſt Rome, with great ſlaughter: the Capenates alſo ſhared the ſame fate, and were obliged to beg protection; wherefore, being thus maſter of the field, he turned all his force to proſecute the ſiege of Veii with vigour. Conſcious, however, that he was unable to take the city by ſtorm, he ſecretly wrought a mine into it, with vaſt labour, which opened into the midſt of the citadel. Certain thus of ſucceſs, and finding the city incapable of relief, he ſent to the ſenate, deſiring, that all who choſe to ſhare in the plunder of Veii, ſhould immediately repair to the army. Then giving his men directions how to enter at the breach, the city was inſtantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and conſternation of the beſieged, who, but a moment before, had reſted in perfect ſecurity. Thus, like a ſecond Troy, was the city of Veii taken, after a ten years ſiege, and with its ſpoils enriched the conquerors; while Camillus, tranſ-

ported

ported with the honour of having ſubdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk-white horſes; a diſtinction which did not fail to diſguſt the majority of the ſpectators, as they conſidered thoſe as ſacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods than their generals.

The people ſoon after pretended to find ſtill greater cauſe of offence. Their tribunes had propoſed that the ſenate and people ſhould divide into two parts; whereof, one ſhould continue in Rome, the other ſhould ſettle at Veii, their new conqueſt. This Camillus earneſtly oppoſed, and diverted the multitude from their intention, though it procured their anger. Nor were they leſs diſpleaſed with him ſoon after, when they found themſelves obliged to reſtore the tenth part of the plunder they had taken, which, before the ſiege, he had devoted to Apollo. The ſoldiers, for the moſt part, had ſpent theirs long ſince; ſo that they muſt have been incapable of refunding, had not the Roman women parted with their golden ornaments, to the amount of eight talents of gold, to ſupply them. For this generous action, they were decreed the privilege of having funeral orations pronounced over their bodies, which had not been allowed to women before. Camillus

millus was rendered by this ſtep more unpopular than ever.

Notwithſtanding, in the midſt of this general diſlike, he was, ſome time after, created one of the military tribunes, and ſent againſt the Faliſci, who had been making their accuſtomed incurſions upon the Roman territories. His uſual good fortune attended him in this expedition; he routed their army, and beſieged their capital city Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous reſiſtance. The reduction of this little place would have been ſcarce worth mentioning, were it not for an action of the Roman general, that has done him more credit with poſterity, than all his other triumphs united. A ſchool-maſter, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men of the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the ſureſt means of inducing the citizens to a ſpeedy ſurrender. The general was ſtruck with the treachery of a wretch, whoſe duty it was to protect innocence; he for ſome time regarded the traitor with a ſtern air, but at laſt finding words, "Execrable villain (cried the noble "Roman) offer thy abominable propoſals to "creatures like thyſelf, and not to me; "what though we be the enemies of your city, "yet there are natural ties that bind all man-

"kind, which ſhould never be broken: there "are duties required from us in war, as well "as in peace: we fight now not againſt an age "of innocence, but againſt men; men who "have uſed us ill indeed, but yet, whoſe crimes "are virtues, when compared to thine. Againſt "ſuch baſe arts, let it be my duty to uſe only "Roman arts, the arts of valour and of arms." So ſaying, he immediately ordered him to be ſtripped, his hands tied behind him, and, in that ignominious manner, to be whipped into the town by his own ſcholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could do; the magiſtrates of the town immediately ſubmitted to the ſenate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their ſurrender, who only fined them a ſum of money to ſatisfy his army, and received them under the protection and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithſtanding the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they ſeemed but little adapted to bring over the reſpect of the turbulent tribunes at home, as they raiſed ſome freſh accuſation againſt him every day. To the charge of being an oppoſer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates for his own uſe, and appointed him a day, on which to appear before the people.

ple. Camillus finding the multitude exaſperated againſt him upon many accounts, deteſting their ingratitude, reſolved not to await the ignominy of a trial; but embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already paſſed as far as one of the gates, unattended, on his way, and unlamented. There he could ſuppreſs his indignation no longer, but turning his face to the Capitol, and lifting up his hands to heaven, entreated all the Gods, that his country might one day be ſenſible of their injuſtice and ingratitude; and ſo ſaying, he paſſed forward to take refuge at Ardea, a town at a little diſtance from Rome, where he afterwards learned that he had been fined fifteen hundred aſſes by the tribunes at Rome.

The tribunes were not a little pleaſed with their triumph over this great man; but they ſoon had reaſon to repent their injuſtice, and to wiſh for the aſſiſtance of one, who alone was able to protect their country from ruin. For now a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make its appearance, than the Roman had ever yet encountered. The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and ſettled in the northern parts of Italy. They had been invited over by the deliciouſneſs of the wines, and the ſoftneſs of the climate. Wherever they came, they diſpoſſeſſed the original

nal inhabitants, as they were men of ſuperior courage, extraordinary ſtature, fierce in aſpect, barbarous in their manners, and prone to emigration. Not content with having ſubdued and peopled moſt of the northern parts of Italy, they were ſtill inviting others from their native deſerts beyond the Alps, to come over, and ſpread terrour and deſolation in the fruitful regions of this new diſcovered country. A body of theſe, wild from their original habitations, were now beſieging Cluſium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus, their king. The inhabitants of Cluſium, frighted at their numbers, and ſtill more at their ſavage appearance, entreated the aſſiſtance, or, at leaſt, the mediation of the Romans. The ſenate, who long had made it a maxim never to refuſe ſuccour to the diſtreſſed, were willing previouſly to ſend ambaſſadors to the Gauls, to diſſuade them from their enterpriſe, and to ſhow the injuſtice of their irruption. Accordingly, three young ſenators were choſen out of the family of the Fabii, to manage the commiſſion, who ſeemed more fitted for the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaiſance, that argued little of the barbarian; and deſiring to know the buſineſs of their embaſſy, was anſwered, according to their inſtructions, that it was not cuſtomary in Italy, to make war, but upon juſt grounds

grounds of provocation; and that they desired to know, what offence the citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of valiant men lay in their swords; that the Romans had no other right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the people of Clusium, as they refused to part with those lands, which they had neither hands to till, nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambassadors, who were little used to bear the language of a conqueror, for a while dissembled their resentment at this haughty reply; but, upon entering the besieged city, instead of acting as ambassadors, and, forgetful of their sacred characters, headed the citizens in a sally against the besiegers. In this combat, Fabius Ambustus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was discovered, while he was despoiling him of his armour. A conduct so unjust and unbecoming excited the resentment of Brennus, who, having made his complaint by an herald to the senate, and finding no redress, immediately broke up the siege, and marched away with his conquering army directly to Rome.

The countries through which the Gauls passed, in their rapid progress, gave up all hopes of safety upon their approach; being terrified at their

their vaſt numbers, the fierceneſs of their natures, and their dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuoſity of this wild people were directed only againſt Rome. They went on without doing the leaſt injury in their march, breathing vengeance only againſt the Romans.

Six military tribunes at that time commanded the Roman army: the number of their forces, which amounted to forty thouſand men, was nearly equal to thoſe of Brennus; but the ſoldiers were leſs obedient, and the generals had not confidence in each other, ſo as to unite for their mutual ſafety. The two armies met beſide the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, both equally confident of victory, both equally dreading to ſurvive a defeat. The leaders on either ſide put their forces in array; the Romans, to prevent being ſurrounded, extended their lines, and placed the beſt legions in the wings of their army. The Gauls, on the other hand, by an happy diſpoſition, had their choice men in the middle, and with theſe they made the moſt deſperate attack. The centre of the Roman army, unable to withſtand the impetuoſity of the charge, quickly gave way; while the two wings ſaw themſelves in a manner divided from each other, and their centre occupied by the enemy. They made, for a time, a feeble attempt to join each other; but finding it impracticable, a rout enſued, in which the Romans

Romans ſeemed to have loſt all power, not only of reſiſtance, but of flight. Nothing but terrour and confuſion reigned through their ſcattered troops; the wretched remains of their army were either drowned in attempting to croſs the Tyber, or went to take refuge in Veii, while only a few of them returned to Rome, with the dreadful account of their overthrow. All hopes being now over, the remaining inhabitants that were able to bear arms, threw themſelves into the Capitol, which they fortified, in order to hold out a ſiege. The reſt of the people, a poor, helpleſs multitude of old men, women, and children, endeavoured to hide themſelves in ſome of the neighbouring towns, or reſolved to await the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But, more particularly, the ancient ſenators, and prieſts, ſtruck with a religious enthuſiaſm on this occaſion, reſolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and, habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themſelves in the Forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a loſe to their triumph, in ſharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the Capitol itſelf had been taken; but they continued two days feaſting upon the field of battle, and, with

barbarous pleaſure, exulting amidſt their ſlaughtered enemies. On the third day after the victory, the eaſineſs of which amazed the Gauls, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at firſt much ſurpriſed to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceleſs; ſo that he began to impute the unguarded ſituation of the place to a ſtratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions he entered the city, and marching into the Forum, there beheld the ancient ſenators ſitting in their order, obſerving a profound ſilence, unmoved and undaunted. The ſplendid habits, the majeſtick gravity, and the venerable looks of theſe old men, who had all borne the higheſt offices of the ſtate, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer blind adoration, till one, more forward than the reſt, put forth his hand to ſtroak the beard of Papyrius, whom we have already ſeen enjoying the dignity of dictator. An inſult of this kind the noble Roman could not indure, but lifting up his ivory ſceptre, ſtruck the ſavage to the ground. This ſeemed as a ſignal for general ſlaughter. Papyrius fell firſt, and all the reſt ſhared his fate, without mercy or diſtinction. Thus the fierce invaders purſued their ſlaughter for three days ſucceſſively, ſparing neither ſex nor age, and then ſetting fire

fire to the city, burnt every houſe to the ground.

All the hopes of Rome were placed in the Capitol; every thing without that fortreſs was but an extenſive ſcene of miſery, deſolation and deſpair. All the magnificent buildings, which were once the pride of Rome, were now become an heap of ſhapeleſs ruin. Nor was it the city alone that felt the utmoſt rage of the conquerors, but all the neighbouring towns that were acceſſible to their incurſions, ſhared the ſame fate, and were burnt without compaſſion. Still, however, the citadel remained; and Brennus tried every art to reduce it. He firſt ſummoned the garriſon, with threats, to ſurrender, but in vain; he then reſolved to beſiege it in form, and hemmed it round with his army. Nevertheleſs, the Romans repelled his attempts with great bravery; deſpair had ſupplied them with that perſeverance and vigour, which they ſeemed to want when in proſperity.

The ſiege had continued for above ſix months, the proviſions of the garriſon were almoſt exhauſted, their numbers leſſened with continual fatigue, and nothing ſeemed to remain but death, or ſubmiſſion to the mercy of the conquerors, which was worſe even than death itſelf. They had reſolved upon dying, when they were revived from their deſpondence, by the appearance of a man whom they ſaw

climbing up the rock, and whom they knew, upon his arrival, to be a meſſenger from their friends abroad. This meſſenger's name was Pontius Comminus, who had ſwum acroſs the Tyber by night, paſſed through the enemies guards; and, with extreme fatigue, climbed up the Capitoline rock, with tidings to the beſieged, that Camillus, their old dictator, was levying an army for their relief; he informed them that this general had already ſurpriſed a body of Gauls in one of their excurſions, and had cut them off to a man; that the citizens of Ardea and Veii had armed in his favour and had made him their general, and that he only waited their confirmation of the choice, to enter the field, and give the barbarians battle. The Romans were ſtruck with a mixture of rapture and confuſion, to find that the man whom they had formerly ſpurned from the city, was now, in its deſperate ſtate, become its defender. They inſtantly choſe him for their dictator, and prepared to ſuſtain the ſiege with recruited vigour. Thus the meſſenger having received his anſwer and proper inſtructions, returned the way he came, not without encountering the utmoſt difficulties.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the ſiege with extreme ardour. He hoped, in time, to ſtarve the garriſon into a capitulation; but they, ſenſible of his intent, although in actual want, cauſed ſeveral loaves to be thrown

thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of ſuch expectations. His hopes failing in this, were ſoon after revived, when ſome of his ſoldiers came to inform him, that they had diſcovered footſteps which led up to the rock, and by which they ſuppoſed the Capitol might be ſurpriſed. Accordingly, a choſen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous ſervice, which they with great labour and difficulty almoſt effected: they were got upon the very wall; the Roman ſentinel was faſt aſleep; their dogs within gave no alarm, and all promiſed an inſtant victory, when the garriſon were awaked by the gabbling of ſome ſacred geeſe, that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The beſieged ſoon perceived the imminence of their danger, and each ſnatching the weapon he could inſtantly find, ran to oppoſe the aſſailants. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, was the firſt who exerted all his ſtrength, and inſpired courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and at one effort threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others ſoon came in to his aſſiſtance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy, in a ſpace of time ſhorter than that employed in the recital.

From this time forward, the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wiſhed for an opportunity of raiſing the ſiege with

credit. His ſoldiers had often conferences with the beſieged, while upon duty, and the propoſals for an accommodation were wiſhed for by the common men, before the chiefs thought of a congreſs. At length the commanders on both ſides came to an agreement, that the Gauls ſhould immediately quit the city and territories of Rome, upon being paid a thouſand pounds weight of gold. This agreement being confirmed by oath on either ſide, the gold was brought forth, but, upon weighing, the Gauls attempted fraudulently to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Brennus inſultingly caſt his ſword and belt into the ſcale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquiſhed was to ſuffer. By this reply, the Romans ſaw that they were at the victor's mercy; and knew it was in vain to expoſtulate againſt any conditions he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. But in this very juncture, and while they were thus debating upon the payment, it was told them, that Camillus, their dictator, was at the head of a large army, haſtening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared ſoon after, and entering the place of controverſy, with the air of one who was reſolved not to ſuffer impoſition, demanded the cauſe of the conteſt; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the Capitol: "For it has

"ever

" ever been (cried he) the manner with us " Romans, to ranſom our country, not with " gold, but with iron; it is I only that am to " make peace, as being the dictator of Rome, " and my ſword alone ſhall purchaſe it." Upon this, a battle enſued, in which the Gauls were entirely routed; and ſuch a ſlaughter followed, that the Roman territories were ſoon cleared of their formidable invaders.

The enemy was now vanquiſhed, but Rome continued an heap of ruins; no part of its former magnificence remained, except the Capitol; and the greateſt number of its former inhabitants had gone to take refuge in Veii. The tribunes of the people, therefore, thoſe men unheard of but in the calm of peace, began once more to urge for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houſes to ſhelter, and walls to defend them. On this occaſion, Camillus was ſteady to his former principles: he attempted to appeaſe them, with all the arts of perſuaſion; obſerving, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to deſert the venerable ſeats of their anceſtors, where they had been encouraged, by repeated marks of divine approbation, to remove to and inhabit a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itſelf. By theſe and ſuch like remonſtrances, he prevailed upon the people

to go contentedly to work; and Rome ſoon began to riſe from its aſhes, though with diminiſhed beauty.

Theſe ſucceſſes of Camillus were, in ſome meaſure, but preparatory to future victories. He was made dictator the next year, upon an irruption of the neighbouring ſtates, and gained
U. C. another triumph; and about three years after
369. overthrew the Latins, who had revolted from Rome, after an obedience of more than an hundred years continuance. Theſe ſucceſſes ſerved to render Camillus almoſt abſolute in Rome; his moderation and patriotiſm, however, prevented his making a wrong uſe of his power, unleſs we may conſider his conduct with regard to Manlius Capitolinus, as an act of ſeverity.

We have already ſeen the bravery of Manlius in defending the Capitol, and ſaving the remains of Rome. For this the people were by no means ungrateful, having built him an houſe near the place where his valour was ſo conſpicuous, and having appointed him a publick fund for his ſupport. But his ambition was not to be ſatisfied with ſuch trifling rewards; he ſtill aſpired at being not only equal to Camillus, but to be ſovereign of Rome. With this view he laboured to ingratiate himſelf with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their

oppreſ-

oppreſſors. The ſenate was not ignorant of his diſcourſes or his deſigns, and created Cornelius Coſſus dictator, under pretext of ſending him againſt the Volſcians, who had made ſome ſucceſsful irruptions into the Roman territories; but in reality, with a view to curb the ambition of Manlius. The dictator ſoon finiſhed his expedition againſt the foreign enemy, by a victory; and upon his return, called Manlius to an account, and put him in priſon, for his conduct at home. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace, to be affected by the power of Coſſus; his partiſans were too loud in their clamours, to permit any injury to be done to their favourite. Coſſus was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement in triumph through the city. This ſucceſs only ſerved to enflame his ambition. He began to talk of a diviſion of the lands among the people; inſinuated that there ſhould be no diſtinctions in the ſtate; and, to give weight to his diſcourſes, he always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the people, whom his largeſſes had made his followers. The city being thus filled with ſedition and clamour, the ſenate were obliged to have recourſe to another expedient, and to oppoſe the power of Camillus to that of the demagogue. Camillus accordingly being made one of the military tribunes, appointed

pointed Manlius a day to anſwer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the Capitol, where, when he was accuſed of ſedition, and of aſpiring at ſovereignty, he only turned his eyes, and, pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had done for his country there. The multitude, whoſe compaſſion or whoſe juſtice ſeldom ſprings from rational motives, refuſed to condemn him, while he pleaded in ſight of the Capitol; but when he was brought from thence to the Peteline grove, and where the Capitol was no longer to be ſeen, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which had been the theatre of his glory, became that of his puniſhment and infamy. His houſe, in which his conſpiracies had been ſecretly carried on, was ordered to be raſed to the ground, and his family were forbidden ever after to aſſume the name of Manlius.

The death of Manlius, in ſome meaſure, renewed the murmurs of the tribunes and the people againſt Camillus, whom they conſidered as the chief inſtrument of his proſecution: ever unwilling to ſuppoſe themſelves guilty of a ſeverity to which they had given their conſent, they began to turn their reſentment upon the moſt worthy man of the ſtate, as if to aggravate their baſeneſs. However, Camillus was never, as it ſhould ſeem, to want an opportunity of bringing

bringing them back to their veneration for him. Being choſen military tribune a ſixth time, though much againſt his conſent, he, with his colleague Lucius, marched againſt the Volſcians; the latter, all eagerneſs to engage the enemy; the other, tempering his courage with moderation. This backwardneſs in Camillus for the attack, Lucius aſcribed to the timidity of old age, or to the envy of a man unwilling to admit a partner in his fame: he, therefore, took the opportunity, when Camillus was ſick, and obliged to keep his bed, to lead on his forces to the attack. But he too ſoon perceived the temerity of his conduct; his army was almoſt defeated, and an univerſal flight was going to enſue, when Camillus, rouſed from his bed, and being helped on horſeback, old and infirm as he was, put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of men, oppoſing thoſe that fled, and bringing them furiouſly up againſt their purſuers. The intrepidity of one man ſpread itſelf through the whole army; his ſoldiers quickly rallied, reſolving never to forſake a general under whom they had ſo often fought victoriouſly. The enemy being thus repulſed, the combat was renewed the day following, in which they were totally defeated, and Camillus returned to Rome once more laden with the ſpoils of conqueſt. But conqueſts abroad ſeemed only to occaſion new diſſenſions at home, for the U. C. 372.

the debtors began to complain of their hardſhips as formerly. The inhabitants of Præneste, a town belonging to the Latins, alſo made incurſions upon the Roman territories. To quell theſe internal and external grievances, Quintius Cincinnatus was choſen dictator, who took Præneste by ſurrender, and returned in triumph, with the ſtatue of Jupiter Imperator, which he placed in the Capitol; a circumſtance which, though of little ſeeming importance, firſt excited the deſire of extending conqueſt among the Romans.

U. C. 374. Two years after this, the conteſts between the patricians and tribunes broke out with more than uſual violence. Many of the plebeians, during the diſtreſſes of their country, had either by accident or courage acquired large fortunes, and this produced a deſire of ſharing, not only in the government, but the honours of Rome. The people, as we have ſeen, had aſpired at the conſulſhip; and the ſenate, as has been related, by a trifling ſubterfuge, granted them military tribunes, who were poſſeſſed of conſular power; but as this, it ſeems, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy their pride, the tribunes of the people renewed their claims; while the poorer part of the citizens, only intent upon acquiring the neceſſaries of life, and but little touched with its honours, were calm ſpectators of the conteſt. About this time Fa-

bius Ambuſtus, a tribune of the people, had two daughters, one of whom he married to a patrician, the other to a plebeian. The plebeian's wife coming one day to viſit her ſiſter, was ſtruck with envy at the honours which the latter received, in conſequence of her patrician alliance, and from envying fell into a ſettled melancholy. Her father and huſband, for a long time, conjured her to tell them the reaſons of this alteration in her diſpoſition, which ſhe, at laſt, unwillingly revealed. The father, though himſelf a patrician, to comfort his daughter, was prevailed upon to give her aſſurances, that he would inſtantly uſe every means in his power, to make her an equal ſharer in the dignities of the ſtate, with her ſiſter; and not to be deficient in his promiſe, from that time conſulted with her huſband about preferring a law, for electing one conſul out of the body of the people. Their firſt ſtep was to get the huſband choſen a tribune of the people; and then, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the multitude, they propoſed, with the ſame law which made pretenſions to the conſulſhip, that the Agrarian law, for the equal partition of lands, ſhould alſo be paſſed; a meaſure which, they knew, muſt give popularity to their ambition. The conteſts in conſequence of this propoſal were ſo violent, that for five years, no ſupreme magiſtrate was choſen; the tribunes of U. C. 377. to 382.

of the people and ædiles governing all the time, if that might be called government, which was little better than anarchy and confuſion. The military tribunes then came into
U. C. 384. government; and after two years were elapſed in this manner, Camillus was choſen dictator, who finding the people reſolute in their deſigns of chooſing a plebeian conſul, laid down his office. Upon his reſignation, another dictator was choſen by the ſenate; but this high office had been ſo often created when there was no abſolute neceſſity, that its authority began to decline, while that of the tribunes roſe upon its ruins. This dictator's name was Publius Manlius: he ſeems to have done little remarkable, if we except his creating Licinius Stolo his maſter of the horſe, who was the firſt plebeian poſſeſſed of that dignity. Stolo was the firſt alſo who cauſed a law to be paſſed, that no man ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land. This was greatly diſadvantageous to the patricians; but what is ſtill more particular, he was ſoon after found deſirous of privately poſſeſſing more land than by his own law he was entitled to ſhare; and, in conſequence thereof, was puniſhed by his own edict.

In this manner the flame of contention was carried on, between the two orders of the ſtate, with acrimony and perſeverance, while foreign enemies

enemies only ſerved to allay, but not to extinguiſh their animoſity. Another invaſion of the Gauls, to oppoſe whom Camillus was a fifth time made dictator, for a time repreſſed and gave a tranſient pauſe to theſe internal commotions. The dread of this people was then ſo great among the Romans, that a law was made to excuſe prieſts from all wars, unleſs in an invaſion of the Gauls. However, Camillus taught his countrymen the way to ſubdue them. Being ſenſible that the chief weapon of this fierce people was the ſword, he furniſhed his ſoldiers with iron helmets, and had their targets bound round with braſs; and, at the ſame time, taught them the art of uſing their own arms to the beſt advantage. By theſe means he rendered the ſwords of the Gauls ſo unſerviceable, that, giving them battle near the river Anio, he gained an eaſy victory; ſo that the Romans now began to deſpiſe the Gauls, and wonder at their own former puſillanimity.

A victory like this, it might be ſuppoſed, would have rendered Camillus abſolute at Rome. But it ſeems that, whether from his advanced age, or the increaſing power of the tribunes, he had by this time fallen even from the ſhare of authority he was once poſſeſſed of. The law for creating a plebeian conſul being ſtill agitated with increaſing animoſity, the ſenate, as uſual, ſtrongly oppoſed it; forbidding Camillus U. C. 388.

to lay down his dictatorſhip; in hopes that, under the influence of his power, they might be able to ſupport their honour againſt the pretenſions of the people. In conſequence of this, while Camillus was diſpatching publick affairs, the tribunes ordered, that the votes of the people ſhould be taken upon their favourite meaſure. The dictator oppoſing this attempt, they ſent a lictor to arreſt and conduct him to priſon. Such a mark of indignity offered to a magiſtrate who had been hitherto held ſacred, raiſed a greater commotion than had yet been ſeen in Rome. The patricians who ſtood round the dictator, boldly repulſed the lictors, while the people who ſtood below, with equal fury, cried out, "Down with him, down with him."

In this univerſal uproar, Camillus was the only perſon that ſeemed unmoved. He entreated that the tribunes would give a moment's pauſe to their attempts; then calling the ſenators round him, and conducting them to a neighbouring temple, he entreated them to give peace to the city, by their compliance; then turning his face towards the Capitol, as if to take a laſt farewel of all future endeavours to ſerve his country, he vowed to build a temple to Concord, in caſe he ſaw peace reſtored to the people. In conſequence of his advice, a law was made, that one of the conſuls, for the future, ſhould be choſen from

from the plebeians. Sextus, who had long been a turbulent tribune of the people, was the firſt plebeian conſul that was choſen. After him ſucceeded Licinius, the huſband of her whom we have already mentioned as languiſhing with the deſire of dignity. There were alſo at this time two new magiſtrates created from the patricians; namely, a prætor, who was to ſupply the place of the conſul in the abſence of that magiſtrate, and to adminiſter juſtice to the people, in civil and criminal cauſes; an officer ſo neceſſary to the ſtate, that the number of prætors was, in after ages, increaſed to ſixteen. There were alſo two curule ædiles created, officers ſo called to diſtinguiſh them from the ædiles of the people, as the former had the chair and other enſigns of magiſtracy attending them, which the latter were denied. The chief buſineſs of theſe was, to have the care of the great and publick games, and of the corn and proviſions taken in war. Thus Camillus, having ſpent a long life (being now above eighty) in the ſervice of his country, throughout which he had ſhown a courage not to be ſhaken by danger, and a patriotiſm, which even the ingratitude of the people could not alter, reſigned the dictatorſhip, and built a temple to Concord, according to his vow, which, however, he ſurvived but two years, dying of the

plague, and leaving behind him the reputation of being the ſecond founder of Rome.

But it was in vain that meaſures were taken to enſure a laſting reconciliation between the patricians and the people: their diſputes revived upon every occaſion; for whenever new magiſtrates were to be choſen, each party trying all their intereſt to have the election in their own favour, heſitated not to uſe both fraud and violence to compaſs their deſires. Thus the ſenate ſuſpended all meaſures againſt the foreign enemy, leſt the plebeian conſul, newly elected, ſhould ſhare the glory. Thus alſo the people ſoon after obtained, by their complaints, to have the curule ædiles choſen, every ſecond year, out of their own body, and even at length prevailed to have Marcus Ru-
U. C. 398. tilius, a plebeian, made dictator. To balance this, the year following, the patricians took away the conſulſhip from the people, after they had enjoyed it ten years; and four years after, they were obliged to reſtore it. The election of a **cenſor** produced equal animoſity; and after many conteſts, the plebeian, who had been dictator, was elected to the office, againſt the united endeavours of the patricians.

During theſe conteſts at home, we are not to ſuppoſe, that the Romans were unemployed, or unſucceſsful in their foreign wars. They obtained a ſignal victory over the Her-

nici; ſo that Claudius Craſſinus, the dictator, had the honour of an ovation allowed him by the ſenate. They obtained another over the Gauls, and Quintus Pennus, the dictator, returned with a triumph. Two ſucceeding victories were gained over the ſame people by two different dictators; namely, Servilius Ahala, and Sulpicius Deticus, who both triumphed in their turns. We read of two other dictators, namely, Manlius Torquatus and Caius Julius, who, being created without any great neceſſity, did little, and conſequently ſerved to leſſen the authority of the dictatorſhip. We read of a fourth triumph over the Gauls by Furius Camillus, who was created dictator to oppoſe them. The Arunci alſo, a people whoſe country was ſituated beyond that of the Volſci, made ſome incurſions, but were repulſed by Camillus, who was created dictator a ſecond time for that purpoſe.

Nor were dictators created only for thus repelling the ſudden incurſions of the enemy, but for much more trifling purpoſes. In the times of a plague we find one created, namely, Manlius Capitolinus, merely to drive a nail, as a means of putting a ſtop to the contagion. This unimportant buſineſs he executed with great ceremony, driving it on the right ſide of Jupiter's temple, into the Capitol. Two dictators alſo were ſucceſſively choſen, merely to hold the comitium or aſſembly of the people,

for a new election of conſuls; Furius Camillus and Manlius Torquatus being appointed for theſe important purpoſes.

In this manner, therefore, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and ſuperſtition within their walls, and ſucceſsful enterpriſes without. Their contentions at home making their wars abroad leſs painful and fatiguing, naturally produced in them a turn to military glory. Their ſuperſtition alſo ſerved as an help to their progreſs; for when the bonds of authority no longer prevailed, the prieſts were always ſure to hold the people by the ties of religion. With what an implicit obedience they ſubmitted to their pontiffs, we have already ſeen in many inſtances; and how far they might be impelled, even to encounter death itſelf, at their command, will
U. C. 402. evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius about this time; who, upon the opening of a gulf in the forum, which the augurs affirmed would never cloſe up till the moſt precious things in Rome were thrown into it, leaped with his horſe and armour boldly into the midſt, ſaying, that nothing was more truely valuable than patriotiſm and military virtue.

The gulf, ſay the hiſtorians, cloſed immediately upon this, and Curtius was never ſeen after. Such a ſpirit of religion, and ſo many advantages by following war, had extended

their dominions already to above double what they were in the times of the kings. However, their principal actions hitherto were againſt their neareſt neighbours, in which they chiefly acted upon the defenſive; but we are ſhortly to behold another ſcene, where their ambition catches fire, and is not extinguiſhed, till the limits of the world ſeem to put bounds to the conflagration.

CHAP. XIV.

From the Wars of the Samnites and the Wars with Pyrrhus, to the Beginning of the firſt Punick War, when the Romans firſt went out of Italy.

WE are now come to that period, when all the peculiar privileges of patricians were but an empty name, and when wealth chiefly made diſtinction. The ſtate has appeared hitherto an obſcure, unnoted commonwealth, formidable only to the petty nations round it, and ſtruggling leſs for conqueſt than ſelf-preſervation. But the Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volſcians, began to look for greater conqueſts. They accordingly turned their arms againſt the Samnites, a people about an hundred miles eaſt from Rome.

The Samnites were an hardy nation, deſcended from the Sabines, inhabiting a large tract of ſouthern Italy, which at this day makes a conſiderable part of the kingdom of Naples. They were equally powerful in numbers and diſcipline with the Romans, and had, like them, confederated ſtates to aſſiſt them. Two ſuch aſpiring neighbours, equally fond of arms and living by war, could not long want a pretext for rupture. The pretended occaſion was, that the Samnites had oppreſſed the Sidicini, who being too weak to manage the war alone, called in the Campanians to their aſſiſtance, who alſo being overthrown, implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans. The ſenate for ſome time, to give a colour of juſtice to their ambition, ſeemed to defer granting aid againſt the Samnites, as being their friends and allies: but the importunate entreaties of the Campanian ambaſſadors, and the offers of the rich country which they inhabited; and, ſtill more, the refuſal of the Samnites to deſiſt from ravaging a country which the Romans conſidered as their own, determined them to undertake the war. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two conſuls to whoſe care it firſt fell to manage this dreadful contention between rival ſtates, that for the ſpace of ſixty years after deluged Italy with blood. Valerius was one of the greateſt commanders of his time;

time; he was ſurnamed Corvus, from a ſtrange circumſtance of being aſſiſted by a crow in a ſingle combat, in which he fought and killed a Gaul of a gigantick ſtature. To his colleague's care it was conſigned to lead an army to Samnium, the enemies capital, while Corvus was ſent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was captain more fitted for command. To an habit naturally robuſt and athletick, he joined the gentleſt manners; he was the fierceſt, and yet the moſt good-natured man in the army; and, while the meaneſt ſentinel was his companion, no man kept them more ſtrictly to their duty: but what completes his character, he conſtantly endeavoured to preſerve his dignities, by the ſame arts by which he gained them. Such ſoldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adverſity, and led on by ſuch a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites were the braveſt men they ever yet encountered, and the contention between the two nations was managed on both ſides with the moſt determined reſolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring, that they were not able to withſtand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans. The other conſul, however, was not at firſt ſo fortunate; for having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius,

a tribune of the army, poſſeſſed himſelf of an hill which commanded the enemy; ſo that the Samnites being attacked on either ſide, were defeated with great ſlaughter, not leſs than thirty thouſand of them being left dead upon the field of battle.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Capua requeſted to have a Roman garriſon to winter there, to ſecure them from the inſults of the Samnites. Their deſire was accordingly complied with; though Capua was ever noted for being the deſtroyer of military diſcipline, and for enervating its protectors. It offered ſo many delights, and gratified ſo largely all the ſofter paſſions, that the Roman garriſon began to loſe not only their courage, but their virtue. They formed a deſign of deſtroying the inhabitants, and taking the town to themſelves. This deſign they communicated to their companions in other parts of the country, and they as readily embraced the propoſal. But, at length, it came to the notice of the officers, who, deteſting ſuch baſeneſs, led the legions into the field, and kept them in action, in order to prevent their recurring to their former deſigns. But notwithſtanding the care of the general and the officers, the ſoldiers finding themſelves liable to the ſevereſt puniſhments for their late perfidious ſchemes, began to mutiny, and uniting themſelves into one body, marched directly forward

forward towards Rome. For ſome time they were without a leader, no man being bold enough, or baſe enough to head an army whoſe confederating principle was treachery. At length they forced Quintius, an old and eminent ſoldier, who was then reſiding in the country, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage, more than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almoſt at the gates, not a little alarmed the ſenate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and ſent him forth with another army to oppoſe them. The two armies were now drawn up againſt each other, while fathers and ſons beheld themſelves prepared to engage in oppoſite cauſes.

Any other general but Corvus would, perhaps, have brought this civil war to an extremity; but he knowing his influence among the ſoldiery, inſtead of going forward to meet the mutineers in an hoſtile manner, went with the moſt cordial friendſhip to embrace his old acquaintance. "I have had (cried he) "opportunities enough of ſhowing my valour "in war, I now only want to acquire reputa- "tion by making peace. You cannot diſtruſt "me, my friends, or think Valerius Corvus "can ever be ſevere, who never yet got one "law enacted in the ſenate that was contrary "to your intereſts. You cannot think he will "be ſevere, whoſe auſterities were ever prac-

"tiſed

" tiſed only upon himſelf. But, whatever you " do, I am reſolved to behave as becomes me; " if I draw my ſword, it ſhall not be till you " have drawn your's firſt; if blood muſt be " ſhed, you ſhall begin the ſlaughter. But " whom will you deſtroy? Not your enemies, " not the Samnites, or the Volſcians, but your " fathers, brothers, children, and countrymen; " and in the view of theſe very mountains " that gave you birth and education. But " let it not be ſo. You, Quintius, if indeed " you are the commander of this ſhameful ex- " pedition, have only to aſk with reaſon, and " we will grant with mercy." The whole army ſeemed affected with this ſpeech. Quintius, as their ſpeaker, only deſired to have their defection from their duty forgiven; and as for himſelf, as he was innocent of their conſpiracy, he had no reaſon to ſollicit pardon for his offences. Thus, this defection, which at firſt threatened ſuch dangers to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whoſe ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies. The mutineers were once more received into favour, and the dictator having no further employment abroad, laid down his office.

U. C. 421. After this, as the war with the Samnites was for ſome time carried on with various ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, a peace was concluded, which ſeemed ſo offenſive to the Latins and the Campanians, that it induced them to revolt. The former carried their demands ſo far as to inſiſt, that one of the conſuls, and half the ſenate, ſhould be choſen out of their body, before they would ſubmit to think of peace. The Romans at firſt tried by gentle means to turn them from their purpoſe; but they inſiſted upon it ſtill more reſolutely, aſcribing the lenity of Rome to its fears. In order, therefore, to chaſtiſe them, the two conſuls, Manlius Torquatus, and his colleague, Decius Mus, were ſent by the ſenate to invade their country. The Latins were not remiſs in their preparations for a defence; ſo that the two armies met with equal animoſity, and a bloody and obſtinate battle enſued. In this battle, the ſtrict diſcipline of the Romans, and their amazing patriotiſm, were diſplayed in a manner that has excited rather the wonder, than the admiration of poſterity. As the Latins and Romans were a neighbouring people, and their habits, arms, and language, were the ſame, the moſt exact diſcipline was neceſſary, to prevent confuſion in the engagement. Orders, therefore, were iſſued by Manlius the conſul, that no ſoldier ſhould leave his ranks upon whatever provocation; and that he ſhould be certainly put to death, who ſhould offer to do otherwiſe. With theſe injunctions, both armies were

were drawn into array, and ready to begin, when Metius, the general of the enemies cavalry, puſhed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to ſingle combat. For ſome time there was a general pauſe, no ſoldier offering to diſobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the conſul's ſon, burning with ſhame to ſee the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly ſingled out againſt Metius. The ſoldiers on both ſides, for a while ſuſpended the general engagement, to be ſpectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horſes againſt each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adverſary's horſe in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin being thus fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to ſupport himſelf upon his ſhield; but the Roman followed his blows with ſo much force, that he laid him dead as he was endeavouring to riſe; and then deſpoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the conſul, his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement.

Howſoever he might have been applauded by his fellow ſoldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he ſhould find from his father, he came, with heſitation, to lay the enemy's ſpoils at his feet, and with a modeſt air inſinuated, that what he did was entirely from a ſpirit

a ſpirit of hereditary virtue. But he was ſoon dreadfully made ſenſible of his error, when his father, turning away, ordered him to be led publickly forth before the army. There being brought forward, the conſul, with a ſtern countenance, and yet with tears, ſpoke as follows: "Titus Manlius, as thou haſt regarded neither "the dignity of the conſulſhip, nor the com- "mands of thy father; as thou haſt deſtroyed "military diſcipline, and ſet a pattern of diſ- "obedience by thy example, thou haſt reduced "me to the deplorable extremity of ſacrificing "my ſon or my country. But let us not he- "ſitate in this dreadful alternative: a thouſand "lives were well loſt in ſuch a cauſe; nor do I "think that thou thyſelf wilt refuſe to die, "when thy country is to reap the advantage of "thy ſufferings. Go, lictor, bind him, and "let his death be our future example." The whole army was ſtruck with horrour at this unnatural mandate; fear, for a while, kept them in ſuſpence; but when they ſaw their young champion's head ſtruck off, and his blood ſtreaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations, and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military diſtreſs.

In

In the mean time, the battle joined with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the ſame leaders, they combated with all the animoſity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily ſtrength; the Romans, on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces ſo nearly matched ſeemed only to require the protection of their deities, to turn the ſcale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army ſhould be diſtreſſed, the commander of that part ſhould devote himſelf for his country, and die as a ſacrifice to the immortal gods. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius led on the left. Both ſides fought, for ſome time, with doubtful ſucceſs, as their courage was equal; but, after a time, the left wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, reſolved to devote himſelf for his country, and to offer his own life, as an atonement to ſave his army. Thus determined, he called out to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his inſtructions, as he was the chief pontiff, how to devote himſelf, and the form of the words he ſhould uſe. By his directions, therefore, being clothed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms ſtretched forward, *ſtanding upon a javelin*, he devoted himſelf to the celeſtial and infernal gods, for the ſafety of Rome.

Then

Then arming himſelf, and mounting on horſe-back, he drove furiouſly into the midſt of the enemies, carrying terrour and conſternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time, the Roman army conſidered his devoting himſelf in this manner, as an aſſurance of ſucceſs: nor was the ſuperſtition of the Latins leſs powerfully influenced by his reſolution; a total route began to enſue: the Romans preſſed them on every ſide, and ſo great was the carnage, that ſcarce a fourth part of the enemy ſurvived the defeat. This was the laſt battle of any conſequence, that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to beg a peace, and obtained it upon hard conditions. Two years after, their ſtrongeſt city, Pædum, being taken, they were brought into an entire ſubmiſſion to the Roman power.

The Samnites, however, were ſtill unconquered; a peace having been made with them ſome time before, which neither ſide ſeemed long inclined to preſerve. Their giving aſſiſtance to the Campanians, who had formerly begged the protection of the Romans againſt them, and now entreated their's againſt Rome, renewed a war; which, though intermitted by various treaties and ſuſpenſions, was to end only with the ruin of that ſtate. For ſome time indeed, the fate of either nation ſeemed uncertain; for though the Samnites were in general worſted,

ed, a ſignal diſgrace which the Romans ſuſtained about this time, made a pauſe in their uſual good fortune, and turned the ſcale for a while in the enemies favour. The ſenate having denied the Samnites peace, Pontius, their general, was reſolved to gain by ſtratagem what he had frequently loſt by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile, called Claudium, and taking poſſeſſion of all its outlines, he ſent ten of his ſoldiers, habited like ſhepherds, with directions to throw themſelves in the way the Romans were to march. Exactly to his wiſhes, the Roman conſul met them, and taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken: they, with ſeeming indifference, replied, that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, and were then actually beſieging it. The Roman general, not ſuſpecting the ſtratagem that was laid againſt him, marched directly by the ſhorteſt road, which lay through the defiles to relieve the city; and was not undeceived, till he ſaw his army ſurrounded, and blocked up on every ſide. The Samnites hemming in the Roman army at this great diſadvantage, immediately ſent off to Herennius, their general's father, for inſtructions how to proceed. The old crafty Samnite, who knew the diſpoſition of the Romans, and that a fierce enemy was either to be entirely vanquiſhed or entirely won, adviſed his

ſon,

ſon, either indiſcriminately to put them all to the ſword, or to diſmiſs them without ſhame or injury; urging at the ſame time, that one of theſe two ways was abſolutely neceſſary; the firſt might incapacitate them from future annoyance; the laſt would lay them under an obligation, which they could never remove. This counſel, though the moſt prudent that could be imagined, was rejected; a middle way was taken, which only ſerved to exaſperate the Romans, but not to ſubdue them. Pontius obliged their army to paſs under the yoke, having been previouſly ſtripped of all but their under garments; he then ſtipulated, that they ſhould wholly quit the territories of the Samnites; and that they ſhould continue to live upon terms of former confederacy.

The Romans were conſtrained to ſubmit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua diſarmed, half-naked, and burning with a deſire of retrieving their loſt honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was moſt ſurpriſingly afflicted at their ſhameful return. Nothing but fury and revenge appeared on every face, while the conſuls, who were the unfortunate inſtruments of their diſgrace, refuſed to appear abroad, or to perform the neceſſary functions of their office. A dictator was choſen, who, having no opportunity of acting, laid down his office, and the ſtate continued for ſome time without any ſupreme

magiſtrate at its head; nothing but grief and reſentment was to be ſeen, and the whole city was put into mourning.

But this was a tranſitory calamity; the ſtate had ſuffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power. It only ſought an opportunity of breaking a compact, which the army had made merely by compulſion; and the two conſuls who had entered into this treaty offered themſelves up to the enemy, as being the only perſons that could be called to account. But Pontius, who juſtly obſerved, that the lives of two men were not equivalent for thoſe of an army, refuſed to receive the forfeit, and ſent them back, greatly exclaiming at the perfidy of Rome. The war was now, therefore, renewed, and the Samnites being overthrown in ſeveral battles, the Romans behaved to them, as they themſelves had been treated before. Theſe ſucceſſes produced a truce, which when expired, the war was carried on, as uſual, for many years; the power of the Samnites declining every day, while the Romans gathered freſh confidence from every victory. Under the conduct of Papyrius Curſor, who was at different times conſul and dictator, repeated triumphs were gained. Fabius Maximus alſo had his ſhare in the glory of conquering them; and Decius, the ſon of that Decius, whom we ſaw devoting himſelf for his country, about

forty

forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, ruſhing into the midſt of the enemy, ſaved the lives of his countrymen with the loſs of his own. It may ſeem indeed ſtrange, how the Samnites could ſo long continue to make head againſt the Roman power; but we muſt conſider, that they were aided by all the little ſtates round them, who were either attached to them by intereſt, or united by a jealouſy of Rome's growing greatneſs. Thus the Tarentines, the Lucani, the Thurini, and all the ſouthern ſtates of Italy by turns, ſent aſſiſtance, which for a while checked the progreſs of the conquerors. But their ſtop was of ſhort duration; both they, and the Samnites, after repeated defeats, ſaw themſelves, at laſt, ſtripped of their cities, and the greateſt part of their country: they found themſelves, at the end of the war, quite exhauſted; near two hundred thouſand of their braveſt men killed in battle, and the remainder utterly unable to make head againſt the conquerors. In this diſtreſs, as the Italian ſtates were unable to defend themſelves, they were obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, and have recourſe to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to ſave them from impending ruin.

Pyrrhus, a king of great courage, ambition and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predeceſſor, before his

eyes; he was reckoned the moſt experienced general of his time, and commanded a body of troops, then ſuppoſed to be the beſt diſciplined in the world. The Romans, therefore, were now no longer to combat with a tumultuary force, raiſed in times of exigence, and depending on their courage alone for victory: they were to oppoſe an army levied amongſt the moſt poliſhed people then exiſting, formed under the greateſt generals, and led on by a commander of confirmed merit. Pyrrhus, as was ſaid, having been applied to for ſuccour by the Tarentines, who, in the name of all the declining ſtates of Italy, conjured him to ſave them from the threatening diſtreſs, promiſed to come to their aſſiſtance. In the mean time he diſpatched over a body of three thouſand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced ſoldier, and a ſcholar of the great orator Demoſthenes. Nor did he himſelf remain long behind, but ſoon after put to ſea with three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. However only a ſmall part of theſe great preparations arrived in Italy with him, for many of his ſhips were diſperſed, and ſome were totally loſt in a tempeſt.

U. C. 477. Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his firſt care was to reform the people he came to ſuccour: for

for obſerving a total diſſolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleaſures of bathing, feaſting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of publick entertainment ſhut up, and that they ſhould be reſtrained in all ſuch amuſements as rendered ſoldiers unfit for action. He attempted to repreſs their licentious manner of treating their governors, and even ſummoned ſome who had mentioned his own name with ridicule, to appear before him. Nevertheleſs, he was prevented from puniſhing them by their ingenuous manner of confeſſing the charge. "Yes (cried they) "we have ſpoken all this againſt you, and we "would have ſaid ſtill more, but that our wine "was out." But though he forgave them with a ſmile, he took the moſt prudent precautions to guard himſelf againſt their well-known inſincerity; ſending his ſon out of the city, and removing all thoſe he ſuſpected to be moſt forward to promote ſedition. In the mean time, the Romans did all that prudence could ſuggeſt, to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy; and the conſul Lævinus was ſent with a numerous army to interrupt his progreſs. Wherefore Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, prepared to meet him; but previouſly ſent an ambaſſador, deſiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus returned for anſwer, that he

neither eſteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambaſſador through the Roman camp, deſired him to obſerve diligently what he ſaw, and report the reſult to his maſter.

War being thus determined on either part, both armies approaching, pitched their tents in ſight of each other, upon the oppoſite banks of the river Lylis. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the ſituation of his own camp, and in obſerving that of the enemy. It was there, that walking along the banks of the river, and ſurveying the Roman method of encamping, "Theſe barbarians (cried he, "turning to one of his favourites) ſeem to "me to be no way barbarous; and, I fear, we "ſhall too ſoon find their actions equal to their "reſolution." In the mean time, ordering a body of men along the banks of the river, he placed them in readineſs to oppoſe the Romans, in caſe they ſhould attempt to ford it before his whole army was brought together. Things turned out according to his expectations; the conſul, with an impetuoſity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for paſſing the river, where it was fordable; and the Epirean advanced-guard having attempted to oppoſe him in vain, was obliged to retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhus, being appriſed of the enemy's attempt, at firſt hoped to cut off their

cavalry, before they could be reinforced by the foot, which were not as yet got over, and led on in perſon a choſen body of horſe againſt them. It was on this occaſion, that he ſhewed himſelf equal to his great reputation: he was conſtantly ſeen at the head of his men, leading them on with ſpirit, yet directing them with calmneſs; at once performing the office of a general, and the duty of a common ſoldier, he ſhewed the greateſt preſence of mind joined to the greateſt valour. He was chiefly conſpicuous by the nobleneſs of his air, and the richneſs of his armour; ſo that wherever he appeared, the throng of the battle was gathered round him. In the midſt of the engagement his horſe happening to be killed, he was obliged to change armour with one of his attendants, and go to another part of the combat, that required his immediate preſence. Mean while, the Roman knights miſtaking this attendant for the king himſelf, directed all their attempts that way, and at laſt ſlew him, and carried his armour to the conſul. The report being ſpread through both armies, that the king was ſlain, the Greeks were ſtruck with a general panick, and the Romans began to aſſure themſelves of victory. But Pyrrhus in the inſtant came bareheaded into the van, and repeatedly crying out, that he ſtill lived, inſpired his ſoldiers with new vigour. At length the Roman legions had advanced acroſs the river, and the engagement was become general; the

Greeks fought with a conſciouſneſs of their former fame, and the Romans with a deſire of gaining freſh glory: mankind had never before ſeen two ſuch differently diſciplined armies oppoſed to each other, nor is it to this day determined, whether, at that time the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in ſuſpenſe; the Romans had ſeven times repulſed the enemy, and were as often driven back themſelves; but at length, while the ſucceſs ſeemed doubtful, Pyrrhus ſent his elephants into the midſt of the engagement, and theſe turned the ſcale of victory in his favour. The Romans, who had never before ſeen creatures of ſuch magnitude, were terrified not only with their intrepid fierceneſs, but with the caſtles that were built upon their backs, filled with armed men. They conſidered them, rather as prodigies ſent to deſtroy, than as animals trained up to ſubdue them; while not only the men, but the horſes ſhared in the general conſternation; neither enduring the ſmell nor the cries of theſe formidable creatures, but throwing their riders, and filling the ranks with confuſion. It was then that Pyrrhus ſaw the day was his own; and ordering his Theſſalian cavalry to charge the enemy, who were then in diſorder, the route became general. A dreadful ſlaughter of the Romans enſued, fifteen thouſand men being killed on the ſpot, and eighteen hundred taken priſoners. Nor were the conquerors in a much better ſtate than the vanquiſhed,

quiſhed, Pyrrhus himſelf being wounded, and thirteen thouſand of his forces ſlain. Night coming on, put an end to the ſlaughter on both ſides, and Pyrrhus was heard to cry out, That one ſuch victory more would ruin his whole army. The next day, as he ſurveyed the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration, the bodies of the Romans who were ſlain: upon ſeeing them all with their wounds before, their countenances, even in death, marked with noble reſolution, and a ſternneſs that awed him into reſpect, he was heard to cry out, in the true ſpirit of a military adventurer, "O with what eaſe could I con-"quer the world, had I the Romans for ſol-"diers, or had they me for their king!" The Romans were highly pleaſed with this politeneſs in an enemy, but ſtill more with his civil treatment, and his courteſy to the priſoners he had taken; complaiſance to the captives was a degree of refinement the Romans were yet to learn from the Greeks; but it was ſufficient to ſhew this brave people an improvement, either in morals or war, and they immediately ſet about imitation.

The Romans, though defeated, were ſtill unconquered; they again began to uſe all neceſſary diligence to recruit their army, and to oppoſe the conqueror, who, joined by the ſouthern ſtates of Italy, was marching directly towards Rome.

Rome. However, he was ſtill unwilling to drive the republick to an extremity; and finding they were making great preparations, he conſidered that it was beſt treating with an enemy after having gained a victory over them; he reſolved therefore to ſend his friend Cineas, the orator, to negociate, and uſe all his arts to induce them to peace. He had long repoſed great confidence in the abilities and perſuaſive powers of this ſcholar of Demoſthenes; and often aſſerted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms. The artful Grecian readily undertook the embaſſy, and entering Rome, began his negociation, by attempting to influence not only the ſenators, but even their wives, by preſents which he ſaid were ſent them by his maſter. This, however, was the age of Roman virtue; the ſenators refuſed to accept theſe bounties, which they conſidered as bribes to betray their country; and the women were not behind their huſbands in their noble diſintereſtedneſs. They deſired him to give back to his maſter thoſe allurements to treaſon, adding, that they would then only accept his offers, when the ſenate had conſidered whether they ſhould accept his friendſhip.

Never was there a time in which all the military and patriotick virtues ſhone with greater luſtre than now. The ſenators having by a late law, as has been related, reduced their fortunes more nearly

nearly to a level with thoſe of the people, began to ſeek diſtinction from virtue only, and deſpiſed thoſe riches which could not be increaſed ſo as to place them at a diſtance from the vulgar. Thus Cineas, with all his art, found the Romans incapable of being ſeduced, either by bribery or private perſuaſion: finding therefore theſe methods ineffectual, he proceeded to his commiſſion more publickly; and was, at his requeſt, introduced to an audience of the ſenate. There he began, by extolling his maſter's courage and clemency; his deſire of patroniſing the brave, and his particular eſteem for the Romans. He proceeded to inculcate the bleſſings of peace, and the happy opportunity the ſenate then had of reſtoring it. He offered, in his maſter's name, to return all that had been lately taken in battle, without ranſom; to give aſſiſtance to the Romans on any future occaſion; and all that he aſked in return, was their alliance and friendſhip, together with permiſſion to have the Tarentines included in the treaty. Theſe offers, and ſtill more the orator's eloquence, appeared to touch the whole aſſembly; a general inclination ſeemed to prevail in favour of the king's propoſal, and a peace was confidently talked of in every part of the city. In this juncture, Appius Claudius, an old ſenator, who was grown blind with age, and had long diſcontinued publick buſineſs, cauſed himſelf to be carried into the houſe

in

in a litter. The ſurpriſe of ſeeing him in the ſenate again, and the numberleſs infirmities which he appeared to ſurmount in coming, awed the whole aſſembly into ſilence and attention. "I have long (cried he, raiſing himſelf from "his couch) conſidered my blindneſs and my "infirmities as evils; I ſuppoſed that heaven "had been willing to puniſh the latter part of "my life for the faults I had committed when "young, and had repaid a youth of folly with "an age of pain. But now, conſcript fathers, "I find that I have been peculiarly indulged in "what I had conſidered as calamities, ſince my "loſs of ſight hinders me from ſeeing the diſ-"honours of my country. Nay, might I make "a wiſh, it ſhould be for deafneſs alſo, and "then I ſhould no longer hear of what muſt "now excite indignation in the breaſt of every "virtuous Roman. How different are you "now from what you were ſome years ago! "Alexander, whom the world has called "Great, was then thought nothing in Rome; "we then univerſally aſcribed his conqueſts "not to his valour, but to his fortune. You "then wiſhed that the tide of war might have "brought him into Italy, only to ſhow the "world your own ſuperior proweſs. But how "are you fallen at preſent! You then wiſhed "to combat with the conqueror of Greece, "and now you fear to engage one of thoſe

"ſtates

« ſtates which he actually conquered. You « deſired to cope with Alexander, and yet you « refuſe to meet one who has left his native « country, rather through fear of his ancient « enemies, than a deſire of finding new. We « have therefore but this alternative, either « boldly to meet Pyrrhus in the field, or be « content to ſuffer all the contempt the neigh- « bouring ſtates of Italy ſhall throw upon us; « and thus, by endeavouring to avoid one war, « engage ourſelves in an hundred." This ſpeech was received with univerſal approbation; the aſſembly grew warm in the praiſes of their rough old orator, and the ſmooth orations of Cineas were heard no more. Being therefore unable to make any progreſs in his embaſſy, he was diſmiſſed with an anſwer, intimating, that when Pyrrhus ſhould withdraw his forces from Italy, the ſenate would treat with him concerning peace.

Cineas being thus fruſtrated in his expectations, returned to his maſter, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The ſenate, he ſaid, appeared a reverend aſſembly of demi-gods; and the city, a temple for their reception. Of this Pyrrhus ſoon after became ſenſible, by an embaſſy from Rome, concerning the ranſom and exchange of priſoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient ſenator, who had long been

been a pattern to his countrymen of the moſt extreme poverty, joined to the moſt chearful content. This practical philoſopher, who had been formerly conſul, and was now the ambaſſador of Rome, had no other plate furniture in his houſe, than a ſmall cup, the bottom even of which was of horn. His daughters being without fortunes, the ſenate generouſly portioned them from the publick treaſury. When the Samnites had formerly offered him large preſents, he refuſed them, ſaying, that he was already rich, as he had learned the art of leſſening his wants, by reſtraining his appetites.

Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindneſs; and, willing to try how far fame had been juſt in his favour, offered him rich preſents; which, however, the Roman refuſed. The day after, he was deſirous of examining the equality of his temper, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapeſtry, which, upon a ſignal given, raiſed its trunk above the ambaſſador's head, at the ſame time uſing other arts to intimidate him. But Fabricius, with an unchanged countenance, ſmiled upon the king; obſerving, that he looked with an equal eye on the terrours of this day, as he had upon the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleaſed to find ſo much virtue in one he had conſidered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which he knew could

could make him happy. He releaſed the Roman priſoners, entruſting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promiſe, that, in caſe the ſenate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper.

By this time the Roman army was recovered from its late defeat; and Sulpicius and Decius, the conſuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panick which had formerly ſeiſed the ſoldiers from the elephants, now began to wear off; and the generals, with great aſſiduity, applied themſelves to imitate the diſcipline of Pyrrhus, and the Grecian method of encampment. It was in this manner they always adopted the improvements of other nations, and learned by defeat the power of becoming invincible. Both armies met near the city Aſculum, both pretty nearly equal in numbers, being about forty thouſand ſtrong. Pyrrhus found himſelf incommoded by a woody country, that prevented his phalanx and elephants from being ſo ſerviceable as in the plain; he therefore continued for ſome time rather upon the defenſive, until night ſhould give him time to make a more advantageous diſpoſition. The next morning he cauſed a detachment of his cavalry to poſſeſs themſelves of the upper grounds, and thus force the enemy into the plain; which, when they had ſucceſsfully effected, he brought down his elephants into the thickeſt of the fight, U. C. 478.

fight, and mixing his ſlingers and archers among them, formed a body that the Romans were ſcarce able to reſiſt; beſides, not having the advantages of advancing and retreating, as the day before, the battle became cloſe and general. The Roman legions at firſt were unable to pierce the Greek phalanx; but at length, careleſs of their own lives, they made a deſperate ſlaughter among them. In fine, after a long and obſtinate fight, the Grecian diſcipline prevailed; and the Romans, being preſſed on every ſide, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving ſix thouſand men dead upon the field of battle. But the enemy had no great reaſon to boaſt of their triumph, as they had four thouſand ſlain; ſo that Pyrrhus replied to one of his ſoldiers, who was congratulating him upon his victory, "One ſuch triumph more, and I ſhall "be undone." Nor was he unjuſt in the aſſertion; as, by this time, the greateſt part of thoſe forces, which had followed him from home, were deſtroyed, and his friends and generals moſtly cut off.

This battle finiſhing the campaign, the next ſeaſon began with equal vigour on both ſides. Pyrrhus having received new ſuccours from home, while old Fabricius, who was made conſul with Æmilius, led on the Romans, no way diſcouraged at their former defeats. While

the two armies were approaching, and but at a ſmall diſtance from each other, a letter was brought to Fabricius from the king's phyſician, importing, that for a proper reward he would take him off by poiſon, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt, at this baſe propoſal, all the honeſt indignation that was conſiſtent with his former character; he communicated it to his colleague, and inſtantly gave his opinion, that Pyrrhus ſhould be informed of the treachery that was plotted againſt him. Accordingly, letters were diſpatched for that purpoſe, informing Pyrrhus of the affair, and alledging his unfortunate choice of friends and enemies. That he had truſted and promoted murderers, while he carried his reſentment againſt the generous and the brave.

Pyrrhus now began to find that thoſe bold barbarians were by degrees ſchooled into refinement, and would not ſuffer him to be their ſuperior even in generoſity: he received the meſſage with as much amazement at their candour, as indignation at his phyſician's treachery. "Admirable "Fabricius! (cried he) it would be as eaſy to "turn the ſun from its courſe, as thee from "the paths of honour." Then making the proper enquiry amongſt his ſervants, and having diſcovered the treaſon, he ordered his phyſician to be executed. However, not to be outdone

in magnanimity, he immediately ſent to Rome all his priſoners without ranſom, and again deſired to negociate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refuſed him peace, but upon the ſame conditions they had offered before, and releaſed as many of the Samnites and Tarentines as equalled the number of the priſoners they had received. The king was a good deal aſtoniſhed at the Roman obſtinacy; he appeared divided between ſhame and neceſſity, his circumſtances obliging him in ſome meaſure, to diſcontinue the war, while his honour was hurt in being compelled to leave it unfiniſhed. An invitation from the Sicilians, begging relief againſt the Carthaginians, who poſſeſſed their iſland, and treated them cruelly, relieved him from this embarraſſment. This expedition promiſed more rewards and leſs labour, and ſuch were the chief objects of this military rambler's attention. He, therefore, placed a garriſon in Tarentum, much againſt the inclination of the inhabitants; and then ſending his friend Cineas before him, followed with all the reſt of his forces to relieve Sicily.

In the mean time the Samnites and Tarentines being left to the mercy of the Romans, continued to ſollicit him with the moſt earneſt ſupplications, to return to protect them. Pyrrhus, whom his ſucceſſes in Sicily had for ſome time made deaf to their entreaties, was, after a

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lapſe of two years, in which he had acquired victories rather ſplendid than uſeful, glad to have a ſpecious pretext to leave this country, as he had formerly left Italy. He, therefore, with ſome difficulty, once more returned to Tarentum, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. The Romans, though preſſed by ſo formidable a power as that of Pyrrhus, had not yet forgotten the ancient animoſity between the orders of the ſtate; and upon a levy being ſet forward to form an army to oppoſe him, many of the people refuſed to inliſt. In order to repreſs a ſedition which threatened nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the empire, the conſuls reſolved to act with ſpirit, and accordingly commanded that the names of the citizens ſhould be drawn by lot, and that he who firſt refuſed to take the field, ſhould be ſold as a ſlave. This timely ſeverity had its effect, and whenever after any man refuſed to inliſt when called upon, he was inſtantly treated by the conſuls in that manner. Having thus raiſed a ſufficient body of forces, the conſuls divided their army into two parts, and marched into the enemies country, one into Lucania, and the other among the Samnites. Pyrrhus having increaſed his army by new levies, and being informed of this, divided his forces alſo, and ſent one part to oppoſe the march of Lentulus, while he himſelf went to attack Curius Dentatus, be-

fore his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to ſurpriſe the enemy by night; but unfortunately paſſing through woods, and his lights failing him, his men loſt their way; ſo that at the approach of morning, they ſaw themſelves in ſight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive them. The vanguard of both armies ſoon met, in which the Romans had the advantage. Soon after a general engagement enſuing, Pyrrhus finding the balance of the victory turning ſtill againſt him, had once more recourſe to his elephants. Theſe, however, the Romans were then too well acquainted with to feel any vain terrours from; and having found that fire was the moſt effectual means to repel them, they cauſed a number of balls to be made, compoſed of flax and roſin, which were thrown againſt them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly oppoſed by the ſoldiers, could no longer be brought on; but ran back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and filling all places with terrour and confuſion. Thus victory, at length, declared in favour of Rome: Pyrrhus, in vain, attempted to ſtop the flight and the ſlaughter of his troops; he loſt not only twenty-three thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers, but his camp was alſo taken. This ſerved as a new leſſon to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement: they had formerly

formerly pitched their tents without order; but by this, they were taught to meaſure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; ſo that many of their ſucceeding victories are to be aſcribed to their improved method of encamping.

In the mean time, while the two conſuls were entering triumphant into Rome, Pyrrhus bore his defeat with unbroken courage; his firſt care was to ſecure a retreat, and then to keep up the ſpirits of his allies, with promiſes of better ſucceſs for the future. This he did till he had tried the utmoſt of what his intereſt could do to furniſh out another campaign. However, finding all hopes of that fruitleſs, he reſolved to leave Italy, where he found only deſperate enemies and faithleſs allies. Accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them, that he had received aſſurances from Greece, of ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and deſiring them to wait the event with tranquillity, the night following embarked his troops, and returned undiſturbed into his native kingdom, with the remains of his ſhattered forces, leaving a garriſon in Tarentum, merely to ſave appearances.

In this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus, after ſix years continuance; through the whole of which, we find the Romans acting a nobler part than in any former period, endeavouring to join the politeneſs of Greece to

the virtuous auſterity of their own manners. A ſpirit of frugality, contempt of wealth, and virtuous emulation, had ſpread itſelf over the whole ſenate. Fabricius not only brought poverty into faſhion by his example, but puniſhed all approaches to luxury, by his authority as a magiſtrate. About this time, in the cenſorſhip of Fabricius, Ruffinus, who had been twice a conſul and once a dictator, was expelled from the ſenate, and had a mark of infamy put upon his name, for no other offence, than being poſſeſſed of ten pounds of ſilver plate for the uſe of his table. By this love of temperance, and theſe ſucceſſes in war, though the individuals were poor, the publick was rich; the number of citizens alſo was increaſed to above two hundred thouſand men, capable of bearing arms; and the fame of the Romans was ſo far extended, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate their ſucceſs, and to entreat their alliance.

As for the poor luxurious Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they ſoon began to find a worſe enemy in the garriſon that was left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them from without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become ſo great, that nothing but the fear of their old inveterate enemies, the Romans, could

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equal it. In this diſtreſs they applied to the Carthaginians, who with a large fleet blocked up the port of Tarentum; ſo that this unfortunate people, once famous through Italy, for their refinements and pleaſures, now ſaw themſelves contended for by three different armies, without the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garriſon to their intereſt; after which, they eaſily became maſters of the city, and demoliſhed its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.

CHAP. XV.

From the Beginning of the firſt Punick War to the Beginning of the ſecond, when the Romans began to grow powerful by Sea.

THE Romans had now deſtroyed all rival pretenſions in Italy: the Tarentines, the Samnites, the Lucanians were now no more, or patiently took laws from the conquerors. The victory over Pyrrhus not only gave the Romans reputation abroad, but kindled an ambition for foreign conqueſt. They began alſo to know, though not to practiſe, the refinements of the Greeks and Tarentines, whom they had conquered; the number of their huſbandmen di- U. C. 493.

miniſhed, while, as in all ſtates becoming opulent, their artiſans and gentry continually increaſed. The environs of the city were therefore no longer able to furniſh their growing numbers with corn, and ſupplies were brought from foreign nations. Of theſe, Sicily ſent by far the greateſt proportion; ſo that the people began ſecretly to wiſh for the poſſeſſion of a country, which had for ſome time ſerved as the granary of Rome. To minds prediſpoſed for conqueſt, a pretext to begin is ſeldom wanting. The Carthaginians were at that time in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Sicily, and, like the Romans only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives in order to become maſters of the whole iſland. This opportunity now offered. Hiero, king of Syracuſe, one of the ſtates of the iſland as yet unconquered, entreated their aid againſt the Mamertines, a little people of the ſame country; and they ſent him ſupplies both by land and ſea. The Mamertines on the other hand, to ſhield off impending ruin, put themſelves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, not thinking the Mamertines worthy of the name of allies, inſtead of profeſſing to aſſiſt them, boldly declared war againſt Carthage; alledging as a reaſon, the aſſiſtance which Carthage had lately lent to the ſouthern parts of Italy againſt the Romans. In this manner a

war

war was declared between theſe two powerful ſtates, both grown too great to continue patient ſpectators of each other's increaſe.

Carthage, a colony of the Phœnicians, was built on the coaſt of Africa, near the place where Tunis now ſtands, about an hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been long growing into power, ſo it had extended its dominions all along the coaſts, and was in poſſeſſion alſo of many of the principal iſlands in the Mediterranean ſea. But its chief ſtrength lay in its fleets and commerce; by theſe its riches were become immenſe; and, by means of money alone, the citizens were capable of hiring and ſending forth armies to conquer or to keep their neighbours under ſubjection. However, as they had been long in poſſeſſion of affluence, the ſtate began to feel the evils that wealth is too apt to produce; for as at Rome, publick employments were made the reward of virtue, and ſuperiour honour only raiſed to pre-eminence in toil; ſo in Carthage, the ſeveral offices which the ſtate had to beſtow were venal; and thoſe who purchaſed them, only aimed at being reimburſed by all the ſordid arts of peculation. Thus unequally matched, theſe two great powers began what was called the firſt Punick war. The Carthaginians, poſſeſſed of gold and ſilver, which might be exhauſted; the Romans of perſeverance, patriotiſm, and

and poverty, which ſeemed to gather ſtrength by every defeat.

As the Romans had been hitherto ſhut up in their own dominions, they had but little knowledge of the method of tranſporting an army by ſea. Appius Claudius was the firſt who, by means of a feeble fleet, or, as ſome will have it, a raft of timber, wafted over a ſmall body of forces into Sicily, where victory, as uſual, was ſtill attendant upon the fortune of Rome. A league made with Hiero, king of Syracuſe, ſoon after the conſul's arrival, began to inſpire the Romans with hopes of expelling the Carthaginians from the iſland, and becoming maſters of it in their turn. But ſtill there ſeemed an unſurmountable obſtacle to their ambitious views; they had no fleet, or at leaſt what deſerved that title, while the Carthaginians, being maſters of a very powerful one, had the entire command at ſea, and kept all the maritime towns under obedience. In ſuch a ſituation, any people but the Romans would have reſted contented, under diſadvantages which nature ſeemed to have impoſed; but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. They began to apply themſelves to maritime affairs; and, though without ſhipwrights to build, or ſeamen to navigate a fleet, they reſolved to ſurmount every obſtacle with inflexible perſeverance. A Carthaginian veſſel happened to be driven

driven aſhore in a ſtorm, and this was ſufficient to give the Romans hopes of building veſſels, that might one day control the long eſtabliſhed naval power of the Carthaginians. Accordingly, they diligently ſet about imitating this ſhip, which was in itſelf little better than a wreck, and built an hundred and twenty more according to the model before them. But now, although they had ſomething like a fleet, which, though clumſey, and ill adapted for ſailing, was of ſome force; they ſtill wanted ſailors to manage it. The Romans being bred up to huſbandry, were perfectly ignorant of maritime affairs; and the neighbouring ſtates, whom they had lately conquered, were either unwilling to embark, or not to be relyed on. In this exigence, they taught their men to row upon land, inſtructing them in the naval manner of engaging, as well as they could, and leaving it to their native valour to do the reſt.

The conſul Duillius was the firſt who ventured to ſea with this new conſtructed armament; but he ſoon found that the enemy was every way ſuperior in point of ſailing, and bringing on their veſſels to an engagement. However, the indefatigable ſpirit of the Romans was not to be ſubdued; he found out a remedy even here, for the improvement of his operations, by inventing an inſtrument, which, upon an impulſe of two ſhips, kept them both grappled together;

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ſo that neither could ſeparate until the victory was decided. By this method, a naval engagement became more like one at land; ſo that when the two rival fleets met, the Romans had the victory, the Carthaginians loſing fifty of their ſhips, and the undiſturbed ſovereignty of the ſea, which they valued more. Theſe ſucceſſes were ſo unexpected by the ſenate, that Duillius their admiral obtained a ſignal triumph, with orders, that whenever he went out to ſupper, there ſhould be a band of muſick to attend him.

In the mean time a conqueſt was carried on by land in Sicily with various ſucceſs; the Romans, as well as their enemies, having ſometimes the worſt of the campaign. But the conduct of both nations, during the continuance of this war, was manifeſtly different. The Carthaginians appeared always murmuring againſt their generals and admirals, and ſometimes puniſhed them with death, for want of ſucceſs. The Romans went on, contented and perſevering, and ſeemingly as eaſy under a defeat, as happy when victorious. Their chief ſucceſſes, during the latter part of the war in Sicily, were owing to the conduct and courage of their conſul Regulus, who ſubdued the iſlands Lippara and Melita, ſo celebrated at this day for being the reſidence of the knights of Malta. The city of Agrigentum in Sicily,

and

and of Alberia in Corſica, were alſo attached to the dominions of Rome.

But theſe trifling ſucceſſes were by no means ſufficient to gratify the ſanguine expectations of the people; for though the Carthaginians were ſometimes defeated even at ſea, yet they ſtill continued the moſt powerful, and ſent in ſupplies to the iſland at pleaſure. The conqueſt therefore of Sicily was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. For this reaſon, the ſenate reſolved to carry the war into Africa; and accordingly they ſent Regulus and Manlius, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, to make the invaſion. Regulus was reckoned the moſt conſummate warrior that Rome could then produce; he was a profeſſed example of frugal ſeverity, but leſs auſtere to others than to himſelf; he only reprehended thoſe faults which he would have died rather than have committed: but his patriotiſm was greater than his temperance; and all the private paſſions ſeemed extinguiſhed in him, or they were all ſwallowed up in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. The two generals ſet ſail with their fleet, which was the greateſt that had ever yet left an Italian port, carrying an hundred and forty thouſand men. They were met by the Carthaginians, with a fleet as powerful, and men better uſed to the ſea. While the fight continued, rather between the ſhips than the men,

men, at a diſtance, the Carthaginians ſeemed ſucceſsful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame, was apparent. The reſolution of the Romans was crowned with ſucceſs; the enemy's fleet were diſperſed, and fifty-four of their veſſels taken. The conſequence of this victory was an immediate deſcent upon the coaſts of Africa, and the capture of the city Clypea; together with twenty thouſand men who were made priſoners of war.

The ſenate being informed of theſe great ſucceſſes, and applied to for new inſtructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to ſuperintend the Sicilian war; and directed that Regulus ſhould continue in Africa, to proſecute his victories there; but as his conſulſhip was expiring, they continued him their general under the title of Proconſul. Happy in the approbation of his country, Regulus continued his ſucceſſes, and led his forces along the banks of the river Bagrada. There, while he was waiting for the approach of the Carthaginians, a ſerpent of enormous ſize attacked his men as they went for water, and placed itſelf ſo as to guard the banks of the river. It was an hundred and twenty feet long, with ſcales impenetrable to any weapon. Some of the boldeſt troops at firſt went up to oppoſe its fury,

fury, but they ſoon fell victims to their raſhneſs, being either killed by its devouring jaws, or cruſhed to pieces by the windings of its tail. The poiſonous vapour that iſſued from it was ſtill more formidable; and the men were ſo much terrified at its appearance, that they aſſerted, they would much more joyfully have faced the whole Carthaginian army. For ſome time it ſeemed uncertain which ſhould remain maſters of the river; as from the hardneſs of its ſcales, no ordinary efforts could drive it away. At laſt, Regulus was obliged to make uſe of the machines employed in battering down the walls of cities. Notwithſtanding this, the ſerpent, for a long time, withſtood all his efforts, and deſtroyed numbers of his men; but at length, a very large ſtone, which was flung from an engine, happened to break its ſpine, and deſtroyed its motion: by theſe means the ſoldiers ſurrounded and killed it. Regulus, not leſs pleaſed with his victory than if he had gained a battle, ordered its ſkin to be ſent to Rome, where it continued to be ſeen till the times of Pliny.

Mean while, the Carthaginians finding the Romans proceeding towards their very capital, brought out a conſiderable army to oppoſe them. A battle enſued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and ſome of its beſt troops were cut off. This victory contributed to throw them into the utmoſt deſpair; more

than

than eighty of their towns ſubmitted to the Romans. The Numidians, their ancient allies, roſe againſt them at the ſame time, and combined to ravage the country. The peaſants, who fled on every ſide, flocked into Carthage, as to the only place of refuge left, and brought with them only miſery and famine. In this diſtreſs, the Carthaginians, deſtitute of generals at home, who had abilities to oppoſe the conqueror, were obliged to ſend to Lacedæmon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them. They, at the ſame time, diſpatched ſome of the principal men of the ſtate to Regulus, to beg a peace. The Roman general had long wiſhed to terminate the war, and return to his native country. He had even applied to the ſenate, ſome time before, demanding a ſucceſſor, and leave to return, in conſequence of an account he had received, informing him, that his ſteward, who cultivated his farm, which conſiſted but of ſeven acres, was dead; and that his ſervants had ſtolen all the inſtruments of huſbandry uſed in its cultivation. He informed the ſenate, that while he was leading on the armies of the ſtate, his wife and children were in danger of wanting bread; and that his little domeſtick affairs required his preſence at home. The ſenate, upon this application, ordered a ſufficient maintenance for his

wife and children; furniſhed his farm with proper inſtruments of huſbandry, at the publick expence, and gave him orders to continue at the head of the army. When the Carthaginians ſent propoſals of peace, he was very much inclined to come to an accommodation; but in ſome meaſure conſidering himſelf as maſter of Carthage, he thought it was his duty to dictate the terms. Theſe were, that the Carthaginians ſhould give up the cities they were poſſeſſed of in Sicily and Sardinia; that they ſhould deliver up all their priſoners without reward, and at the ſame time ranſom ſuch as had been made by the Romans. Theſe and ſome other conditions of the ſame nature were offered; but the Carthaginians thinking them too rigid, the treaty broke off, and both ſides prepared for war.

Xantippus, the Lacedemonian general, was arrived by this time, and gave the magiſtrates proper inſtructions for levying their men: he aſſured them, that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the ſtrength of the enemy, but the ignorance of their own generals; he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and aſſured them of an eaſy victory. The whole city ſeemed once more revived from deſpondence, by the exhortations of this illuſtrious ſtranger; and ſoon, from hope, grew into confidence. This was the ſpirit the Grecian general wiſhed to excite in them; ſo that when he

ſaw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The forces on both ſides were but few; the Carthaginian army conſiſting only of twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; thoſe of the Romans, of about the ſame, or rather a ſuperior number. The firſt circumſtance which alarmed Regulus, was to find the enemies alter the plan of encampment, and make a new choice of their ground. They had hitherto choſen the moſt woody and unequal places, where their cavalry were embarraſſed, and their elephants utterly unſerviceable. They now continually kept in the open country, and ſo harraſſed the Roman army, that at length Regulus was obliged to deſcend into the plain, and croſs the river to give them battle. The Lacedemonian made the moſt ſkilful diſpoſition of his forces; he placed his cavalry in the wings; diſpoſed the elephants at proper intervals, behind the line of heavy-armed infantry; and, bringing up the light-armed troops before, ordered them to retire through the line of infantry, after they had diſcharged their weapons. This was a moſt maſterly diſpoſition, and ſuch as was uſeful to the Romans in ſucceeding engagements, though it was fatal to them in this. For now both armies engaging, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Romans were overthrown with dreadful ſlaughter; the greateſt part of their army being

deſtroyed, and Regulus himſelf taken priſoner. A victory ſo great and unexpected filled the ſtreets of Carthage with ungovernable joy; they could never ſufficiently ſatisfy themſelves with gazing on the conqueror, though he was but ſmall of ſtature, and of a very mean appearance. But this diſpoſition was but of ſhort continuance, for ſoon their admiration was turned to envy. They could not bear to owe to a ſtranger that ſafety, which they wanted abilities and virtue to procure for themſelves. Xantippus, who knew their malignity, and who never much prided himſelf upon their barbarous praiſe, was deſirous of leſſening their malevolence, by removing the cauſe: he therefore requeſted permiſſion to return home, and deſired a ſhip for that purpoſe. Their ingratitude on this occaſion, if hiſtorians ſay true, was even more ſhocking than the former antipathy; for pretending to furniſh him with the moſt honourable conveyance, the mariners had private orders to throw him and his companions overboard, leſt the honour of obtaining ſo great a victory ſhould be aſcribed to a ſtranger.

However this may be, the affairs of the Carthaginians, for ſome time, went on to improve, while thoſe of Rome ſeemed to be declining. The remains of the Roman army were beſieged in Clypea, a city on the coaſt of Africa, which Regulus had taken; and, though it was for a

while relieved by means of a naval victory, under the conduct of Æmilius Paulus, yet they were obliged to evacuate the place. Soon after the Romans loſt their whole fleet in a ſtorm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by Karthalo, the Carthaginian general. The Romans, not eaſy to be deterred, undertook to build a new fleet, which alſo ſhared the fate of the former: the mariners, not yet acquainted with the Mediterranean ſhores, drove it upon quickſands; and, ſoon after, the greateſt part periſhed in a ſtorm. Thus diſtreſſed in every naval attempt, they, for a while, gave up all hopes of rivalling the Carthaginians at ſea, and relied only upon their expectations from the conqueſt of Sicily; which they, in a great meaſure, effected.

Mean time the Carthaginians, being now more ſucceſsful than when they had formerly made propoſals of peace, were deſirous of a new treaty, hoping to have better terms than thoſe inſiſted upon before. They therefore reſolved to ſend to Rome to negociate this buſineſs, or at leaſt to procure an exchange of priſoners. For this purpoſe they ſuppoſed, that Regulus, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon, confined and chained, would be a proper ſollicitor. It was expected, that, being wearied with impriſonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to perſuade his countrymen

countrymen to a diſcontinuance of the war, which only prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly ſent with their ambaſſadors to Rome, but with a promiſe, previouſly exacted from him, to return in caſe of being unſucceſsful. He was even given to underſtand, that his life depended upon the ſucceſs of his expedition.

When this old general, together with the ambaſſadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate his return. Their acclamations reſounded through the city; but Regulus refuſed, with ſettled melancholy, to enter the gates. It was in vain that he was entreated on every ſide to viſit once more his little dwelling, and ſhare in that joy which his return had inſpired. He perſiſted in ſaying, that he was now but a ſlave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake in the liberal honours of his country. The ſenate aſſembling without the walls, as uſual, to give audience to the ambaſſadors, Regulus opened his commiſſion, as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council, and their ambaſſadors ſeconded his propoſals. The ſenate were, by this time, weary of a war, which had been protracted above eight years, and were no way diſinclinable to a peace. It ſeemed the general opinion, that the enmity between the two ſtates had continued too long; and that no terms ſhould be refuſed, which might not only give reſt to the

two nations, but liberty to an old brave general, whom the people reverenced and loved. It only remained for Regulus to give his opinion, who, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, to the ſurpriſe of every perſon preſent, gave his voice for continuing the war. He aſſured the ſenate, that the Carthaginian reſources were now almoſt exhauſted; their populace harraſſed out with fatigues, and their nobles with contention; that all their beſt generals were priſoners with the Romans, while Carthage had none but the refuſe of the Roman army: that not only the intereſt of Rome, but its honour alſo was concerned in continuing the war, for their anceſtors had never made peace till they were victorious.

So unexpected an advice not a little diſturbed the ſenate, they ſaw the juſtice of his opinion, but they alſo ſaw the dangers he incurred by giving it: they ſeemed entirely ſatisfied of the expediency of prolonging the war; their only obſtacle was how to ſecure the ſafety of him, who had adviſed its continuance: they pitied, as well as admired, a man who had uſed ſuch eloquence againſt his private intereſt, and could not conclude upon a meaſure which was to terminate in his ruin. Regulus, however, ſoon relieved their embarraſſment by breaking off the treaty, and by riſing in order to return to his bonds and confinement. It was in vain that the ſenate and all his deareſt friends entreated his

ſtay;

ſtay; he ſtill repreſſed their ſollicitations. Maria his wife, with her little children, filled the city with her lamentations, and vainly entreated to be permitted to ſee him: he ſtill obſtinately perſiſted in keeping his promiſe; and though ſufficiently appriſed of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambaſſadors for Carthage.

Nothing could equal the fury and the diſappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambaſſadors, that Regulus, inſtead of promoting a peace, had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to puniſh his conduct with the moſt ſtudied tortures. Firſt, his eyelids were cut off, and then he was remanded to priſon. He was, after ſome days, expoſed with his face oppoſite to the burning ſun. At laſt, when malice was fatigued with ſtudying all the arts of torture, he was put into a barrel ſtuck full of nails that pointed inwards, and in this painful poſition he continued till he died.

Both ſides now took up arms with more than former animoſity. The Romans, who were inflexible in their purpoſes, although they had ſo many times been wrecked at ſea, and had loſt ſuch numbers of their braveſt troops there, once more fitted out a fleet, and again bid defiance to Carthage. It ſeemed, however, as

if fortune was reſolved to drive them from this unſtable element; for, by the bad conduct of Claudius Pulcher their conſul, and by other diſaſters, their fleet was deſtroyed like all the former, and the Romans ſeemed drained of every reſource to furniſh out a new one. In conſequence of this misfortune, they were obliged to abſtain for ſeven years from all naval preparations. But their ſpirit was not to be broken; they reſolved to build another fleet, and to try their wayward fortune in forming a naval power. At length their perſeverance was crowned with ſucceſs, and one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo the conſul ſhowed them the way, by defeating a large ſquadron of the enemy's ſhips; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory ſtill more complete, in which the power of Carthage ſeemed totally deſtroyed at ſea, by the loſs of an hundred and twenty ſhips, according to the loweſt computation. This loſs brought the Carthaginians to ſue for peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but ſtill inflexible in its demands, exacted the ſame conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. Theſe were, that they ſhould lay down a thouſand talents of ſilver, to defray the charges of the war; and ſhould pay two thouſand two hundred more, in ten years time; that they ſhould quit Sicily, with all ſuch iſlands as they poſſeſſed near it;

it; that they ſhould never make war againſt the allies of Rome, or come with any veſſels of war within the Roman dominions; and laſtly, that all their priſoners and deſerters ſhould be delivered up without ranſom. To theſe hard conditions the Carthaginians, now exhauſted, readily ſubſcribed; and thus ended the firſt Punick war, which had laſted twenty-four years, and, in ſome meaſure, had drained both nations of every reſource to renew hoſtilities. U. C. 513.

CHAP. XVI.

From the End of the firſt Punick War to the End of the ſecond.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and Romans, a profound peace enſued, and, in about ſix years after, the temple of Janus was ſhut, for the ſecond time ſince the foundation of the city. The Romans being thus in friendſhip with all nations, had an opportunity of cultivating the arts of peace: they now began to have a reliſh for poetry, the firſt liberal art which riſes in every civilized nation, and the firſt alſo that decays. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of their loweſt buffoons; they had ſports called Feſcennini, in which a few debauched actors made their own parts, while raillery and ſmut ſupplied the place of humour. To theſe a com-

compoſition of a higher kind ſucceeded, which they called ſatire. This was a kind of dramatick poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed out, and made an object of deriſion to the vulgar. After theſe came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greeks; and, indeed, the firſt dramatick poet of Rome, whoſe name was Livius Andronicus,
U. C. 514. was a Greek by birth. The inſtant theſe finer kinds of compoſition appeared, this great people rejected their former impurities with diſdain. From thenceforward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and, though they were never able to rival their maſters in dramatick compoſition, they ſoon ſurpaſſed them in many of the more ſoothing kinds of poetry. Elegiack, paſtoral, and didactick compoſitions, began to aſſume new beauties in the Roman language; and ſatire, not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler ſort, invented by Lucilius, was all their own.

While they were thus admitting the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of making freſh preparations for war; all intervals of eaſe ſeemed rather to give freſh vigour for new deſigns, than to relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians were the firſt people upon whom they tried their ſtrength, after ſome continu-
U. C. 527. ance of peace. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with

with impunity, happened to make depredations upon ſome of the trading ſubjects of Rome. This being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, ſhe, inſtead of granting redreſs, ordered the ambaſſador who was ſent to demand reſtitution, to be murdered. A war enſued, in which the Romans were victorious; moſt of the Illyrick towns were ſurrendered to the conſuls, and a peace at laſt concluded, by which the greateſt part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the reſt, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians ſhould not ſail beyond the river Liſſus, with more than two barks, and thoſe unarmed.

The Gauls were the next people that incurred the diſpleaſure of the Romans. Suppoſing a time of peace, when the armies were diſbanded, a proper ſeaſon for new irruptions, this barbarous people collected freſh forces from beyond the Alps, and entering Etruria, waſted all with fire and ſword, till they came within about three days journey of Rome. A prætor and a conſul were ſent to oppoſe them, who, now inſtructed in the improved arts of war, were enabled to ſurround the Gauls, who ſtill retained their primæval barbarity. In vain thoſe hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppoſe their adverſaries; their naked bodies

and

and undiſciplined forces were unable to withſtand the ſhock of an enemy completely armed, and ſkilled in military evolutions. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued, in which forty thouſand men were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. This victory was followed by another gained over them by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus, their king, with his own hand, and gained the third royal ſpoils that were yet obtained at Rome. Theſe conqueſts forced the Gauls to beg a peace, the conditions of which ſerved greatly to enlarge the empire. Thus the Romans went on with ſucceſs; they had now totally recovered their former loſſes, and only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms, to begin a new war.

An occaſion ſoon offered to renew their military operations. The Carthaginians, who only made a peace becauſe they were no longer able to continue the war, took the earlieſt opportunity of breaking the treaty: they beſieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and, though deſired to deſiſt, proſecuted their operations with vigour. Ambaſſadors were ſent, in conſequence, from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had adviſed this meaſure, ſhould be delivered up. This demand being refuſed, the ambaſſadors began to perceive their

their inclinations for a rupture; and one of them holding out the ſkirt of his robe, as was the cuſtom, told the Carthaginian miniſtry, that he brought them peace or war, of which they might chooſe. They deſired him to deliver which he thought proper; to which he returned "Then let it be war;" and thus leaving the aſſembly, returned to Rome.

War being thus again declared between theſe great rival powers, the Carthaginians truſted the command of their army to Hannibal, the ſon of Amilcar, their former general. Hannibal had been made the ſworn foe of Rome, almoſt from his infancy; for, while yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he never would be in friendſhip with the Romans, nor deſiſt from oppoſing their power, until he or they ſhould be no more. On his firſt appearance in the field, he reconciled, in his own perſon, the moſt juſt method of commanding, with the moſt perfect obedience to his ſuperiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was poſſeſſed of the greateſt courage in oppoſing danger, and the greateſt preſence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to ſubdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his ſpirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took ſuſtenance to content nature, and not to

U. C. 536.

to delight his appetite. His ſeaſons for repoſe or labour were never regular, but he was ever ready when difficulties or his country demanded his aid. He was frequently found ſtretched on the ground among his ſentinels, covered only with a watch coat. His dreſs differed in nothing from the moſt ordinary men of his army, except that he affected peculiar elegance in his horſes and armour. He was the beſt horſeman and the ſwifteſt runner of his time. He was ever the foremoſt to engage, and the laſt to retreat; he was ever prudent in his deſigns, which were extenſive; and ever fertile in expedients to perplex his enemies, or to reſcue himſelf from hardſhips. He was experienced, ſagacious, provident, and bold. Such were the admirable qualities of this inimitable ſoldier, who is generally allowed the greateſt general of antiquity. On the other hand, he was cruel and faithleſs; without honour, without religion; and yet ſo deceitful, as to aſſume the appearance of them all: yet, it ought to be remembered, that they were his enemies who gave him this character. From ſuch a ſoldier and politician the Carthaginians juſtly formed the greateſt expectations; and his taking Saguntum ſhortly after confirmed their opinion of his abilities. But he ſoon gave proofs of a much more extenſive genius than they could have conceived; for, having over-run all Spain, and levied a large army

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of various languages and nations, he reſolved to carry the war into Italy, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpoſe, leaving Hanno with a ſufficient force to guard his conqueſts in Spain, he croſſed the Pyrenean mountains into Gaul, with an army of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe. He quickly traverſed that country, which was then wild and extenſive, and filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain its foreſts and rivers appeared to intimidate him; in vain the Rhone, with its rapid current, and its banks covered with enemies; or the Dura, branched out into numberleſs channels, oppoſed his way; he paſſed them all with perſeverance, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he was to explore a new paſſage into Italy. It was in the midſt of winter, when this aſtoniſhing project was undertaken. The ſeaſon added new horrours to a ſcene, that nature had already crowded with objects of diſmay. The prodigious height and tremendous ſteepneſs of the mountains, capped with ſnow; the rude cottages that ſeemed to hang upon the ſides of the precipices; the cattle, and even the wild beaſts, ſtiff with cold, or enraged with famine; the people barbarous and fierce, dreſſed in ſkins, with long ſhaggy hair; preſented a picture that impreſſed the beholders with aſtoniſhment and terrour. But nothing was capable of

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ſubduing the courage of the Carthaginian general; after having harangued his army, he undertook to lead them up the ſides of the mountain, aſſuring his ſoldiers, that they were now ſcaling, not the walls of Italy, but of Rome.

The ſoldiers in this march had not vain fears alone to combat with, but numberleſs and unforeſeen calamities. The intenſeneſs of the cold, the height of the precipices, the ſmoothneſs of the ice, but, above all, the oppoſition of the inhabitants, who aſſailed them from above, and rolled down huge rocks upon them in their march, all contributed to diſpirit the army. At length, after nine days painful march through theſe untrodden paths, Hannibal gained the top of the mountains, where he rejoiced his ſoldiers, by ſhowing them the charming and fertile vales of Italy, which were ſtretched out beneath. After two days reſpite, he next prepared to deſcend, and this was found a work of more danger even than the former. Prodigious quantities of ſnow having lately fallen, as many were ſwallowed up in that, as had before been deſtroyed by the enemy. Every new advance ſeemed but to increaſe the danger, till, at laſt, he came to the verge of a precipice above three hundred yards perpendicular, which ſeemed utterly impaſſable. It was then that deſpair appeared in every face but Hannibal's; and he ſtill remained unſhaken: his firſt

effort was to endeavour, by making a circuit, to find a more commodious paſſage. This only increaſing his difficulty, he reſolved to undertake levelling the rock. For this purpoſe, great numbers of large trees were felled; and a huge pile raiſed againſt it, and ſet on fire. The rock being thus heated, ſays Livy, was ſoftened by vinegar, and a way opened, through which the whole army might ſafely paſs. This ſeemed to be the end of the difficulties of this march; for as he deſcended, the valleys between the mountains became more fertile; ſo that the cattle found paſture, and the ſoldiers had time to repoſe. Thus, at the end of fifteen days ſpent in croſſing the Alps, Hannibal found himſelf in the plains of Italy, with about half his army remaining; the reſt died of the cold, or were cut off by the natives.

As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal, at the head of a formidable army, was croſſing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, the ſenate ſent Scipio to oppoſe him, as a general on whom they placed great dependence. Scipio being deſirous of making his principal effort, while Hannibal's army was not recovered from the fatigues of their march, brought up his forces, and attacked him near Ticinium. The engagement was for ſome time doubtful; but a party of Numidian horſe wheeling round, attacked the Romans in

the rear; and at laſt obliged them to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The conſul was wounded in the beginning of the fight, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not his ſon Scipio, afterwards called Africanus, expoſed himſelf in the hotteſt part of the engagement, and ſaved his father's life, at the hazard of his own. Hannibal, being thus victorious, took the moſt prudent precautions to increaſe his army; giving orders to Mago, his general of cavalry, that when he ravaged the country, always to ſpare the poſſeſſions of the Gauls, while his depredations were exerciſed upon thoſe of Rome. This diſtinction pleaſing that ſimple people, they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his ſtandard with alacrity.

Soon after this defeat, Sempronius, the other conſul, was reſolved to repair the injury ſuſtained by his colleague; and perceiving that the continual defection of the Gauls increaſed the ſtrength of the Punick army, he determined to give battle the firſt opportunity. Hannibal was not long in delaying his expectations, and both armies met upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general being no ſtranger to the Roman impetuoſity, of which he availed himſelf in almoſt every engagement, had ſent off a body of a thouſand horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind him, acroſs the river,

river, to ravage the enemies country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly attacked this party, who, ſeeming to be defeated, took the river, and were as eagerly purſued by the conſul. It was not, however, till his army was got upon the oppoſite bank, that he perceived himſelf half conquered already, his men being fatigued with wading up to their arm-pits, and quite benumbed by the intenſe coldneſs of the water. But it was now too late to retire, for Hannibal came pouring down with his forces, freſh and vigorous, ſo that the battle ſoon became general. The courage of the Romans for a while withſtood every diſadvantage, and kept the victory doubtful; but they ſoon found themſelves attacked alſo in the rear by a party of horſe, which the Carthaginian general had laid in ambuſh, to be ready on this occaſion. At length, a total rout enſued; twenty-ſix thouſand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to re-paſs the river. A body of ten thouſand men were all that ſurvived; who, finding themſelves encloſed on every ſide, broke deſperately through the enemies ranks, and fought retreating, till they found ſhelter in the city of Placentia.

The loſs of theſe two battles only ſerved to increaſe the caution of Hannibal and the vigilance of Rome. Preparations for the enſuing campaign were carried on with greater vigour

than before; and the Carthaginian general finding himſelf in a condition to change the ſeat of the war, reſolved to approach Rome, by marching into Etruria. There were two ways for effecting his march thither; one, more tedious, but ſecure; the other, which was ſhorter, led through the marſhes, cauſed by the overflowing of the river Arno. He choſe the latter, and all the former fatigues of the Carthaginian army were nothing, compared to their ſufferings here. They were forced to march three days and nights ſucceſſively, up to the knees in water, without ſleep or without reſt; the hoofs of the horſes came off in their paſſage, while the beaſts of burthen that carried the baggage, unable to ſupport the fatigue, were left dead in the mud. Hannibal, riding upon an elephant, which was the only one left alive, felt all the complicated diſtreſs of his own ſituation, and that of his army. His health had been impaired in the preceding ſpring, and having then an inflammation in his eyes, by his preſent fatigues he loſt one of them entirely. At laſt, however, he arrived upon dry ground, where he was informed, that Flaminius, the conſul, was encamped near Aricia, waiting the arrival of the other conſul with re-inforcements from Rome. One of Hannibal's chief excellencies in war, was the care he took to inform himſelf of the temper and diſpoſition of the generals who oppoſed him; and finding

finding that Flaminius was raſh and overbearing, elated with his former ſucceſſes, and confident with regard to the future, he reſolved to bring him to an engagement before his colleague could come up. Seeming therefore to take no notice of his army, which lay in the direct road towards Rome, he left it on one ſide, and marching onward, as if to beſiege the capital, he ravaged the whole country in a terrible manner, with fire and ſword. Flaminius, as was expected, could not tamely bear to ſee an inſulting enemy laying every thing waſte before him, but burned for engagement. It was in vain that he was adviſed by the ſenate, and all about him, to uſe caution, and not to let the enemies inſults provoke him to an unequal combat. He immediately ordered his troops to march; his friends foreboding their future danger, while the ſoldiers went rejoicing in the courage of their general, and indulging their hopes, rather than conſidering the reaſons they had to hope for ſucceſs. Hannibal was with his army, at the time when Flaminius came out to engage him, at the lake of Thraſymene; near to which was a chain of mountains, and, between theſe and the lake, a narrow paſſage leading to a valley that was emboſomed in hills. It was upon theſe hills that he diſpoſed his beſt troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius led his men to attack him. A diſpoſition every way ſo favourable

for the Carthaginians, was alſo aſſiſted by accident; for a miſt riſing from the lake, prevented the Romans from ſeeing their enemies; while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, ſaw the whole diſpoſition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was ſuch as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals; the Roman army was broken, and ſlaughtered, almoſt before they could perceive the enemy that deſtroyed them. About fifteen thouſand Romans fell in the valley, and ſix thouſand more were obliged to yield themſelves priſoners of war. In this general carnage, the unfortunate Flaminius did all that courage could inſpire, to ſave his army; wherever the enemy was moſt ſucceſsful, he flew with a choſen body of his attendants to repulſe them; at laſt, deſpairing of victory, and unwilling to ſurvive a defeat, he flung himſelf alone into the midſt of the enemy, and was killed by a Gauliſh horſeman, who ſtruck him through the body with his lance. Hannibal, after the battle, kept the Roman priſoners, but civilly diſmiſſed thoſe of the Latins; and willing to give the conſul an honourable interment, ſought his body amongſt the heaps of ſlain, but it could not be found.

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after the general conſternation was allayed, the ſenate, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to elect a commander

commander with abſolute authority, in whom they might repoſe their laſt and greateſt expectations. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, but with a happy mixture of caution; leſs enraptured with the glare of victory, than the conſciouſneſs of deſerving it. This old commander, thus inveſted with the ſupreme dignity, ſet forward with what preparations he was able to make, but with no intentions of fighting an enemy whom he knew more powerful than himſelf. He had long before ſetting out laid a plan by which to proceed, and to that he ſtrictly adhered during all the enſuing campaigns. He was appriſed that the only way to humble the Carthaginians at ſuch a diſtance from home, was rather by harraſſing them than by fighting. For this purpoſe, he always encamped upon the higheſt grounds, innacceſſible to the enemies cavalry. Whenever they moved he moved, watched their motions, ſtraitened their quarters, and cut off their proviſions. It was in vain that Hannibal uſed every ſtratagem to bring him to a battle; the cautious Roman, thence ſurnamed Cunctator, ſtill kept aloof, contented with ſeeing his enemy, in ſome meaſure, defeated by delay. Hannibal, perceiving that his adverſaries had altered their plan of operations, tried his uſual arts to make Fabius appear deſpicable to his own army. He ſometimes, therefore, braved him

in his camp; ſometimes waſted the country round him; talked of his abilities with contempt; and, in all his excurſions, ſpared the poſſeſſions of Fabius, while thoſe of the other Romans were plundered without mercy.

Theſe arts, in ſome meaſure, ſucceeded; the Romans began to ſuſpect their general, either of cowardice or treachery; and a ſlight action that enſued ſoon after, gave ſtrength to their ſuſpicions. For Hannibal deſigning to march, for the convenience of forage, to a place called Caſſinum, was, by miſtake of his guide, conducted towards Caſſilinum, where he found himſelf in a cloſe country, hemmed in on every ſide. However, willing to draw all the advantages he was able from his ſituation, he ordered his cavalry to pillage the country round, which the Roman army, who ſtill kept him in view, beheld from a neighbouring hill. Hannibal knew that his depredations would excite them to a deſire of revenge; but it was in vain they cried out to their phlegmatick general, to lead them down upon the enemy. Fabius ſtill kept his poſt, contrary to all the entreaties of his men, and even the expoſtulations of Minucius, his maſter of the horſe. It was now, therefore, found, that the prudent Roman began to turn Hannibal's own arts againſt him: he had now encloſed that general among mountains, where it was impoſſible

poſſible to winter; and yet, from which it was almoſt impracticable to extricate his army without imminent danger. In this exigence, nothing but one of thoſe ſtratagems of war, which great men only are capable of inventing, could ſave him: he ordered a number of ſmall faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thouſand oxen, that he had in his camp, and directed them to be driven towards the enemy. Theſe toſſing their heads, and running up the ſides of the mountain, ſeemed to fill the whole neighbouring foreſt with fire; while the ſentinels who were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain, ſeeing ſuch an uncommon appearance advancing towards their poſts, fled in conſternation, ſuppoſing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this ſtratagem, Hannibal drew off his army, and eſcaped through the defiles beneath the hills, with conſiderable damage to his rear. Although Fabius had conducted himſelf in this expedition with the prudence and conduct of the moſt conſummate general, he could not prevent the murmurs of his army, who began to charge him with ignorance in war, as they had formerly impeached his valour and fidelity.

Fabius, no way ſollicitous to quiet the murmurs, either of his army or of the citizens, returned to Rome, in order to raiſe money

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to ranſom ſome Roman priſoners, whom Hannibal offered to releaſe; but in the mean time, he gave inſtructions to Minucius, his maſter of the horſe, to abſtain from giving the enemy battle, upon any occaſion whatſoever. But Minucius, who now began to have the ſame opinion of the dictator, that the reſt of the ſoldiers entertained, little regarded his inſtructions; but venturing out againſt the Carthaginians, ſkirmiſhed with ſuch ſucceſs, that, by univerſal conſent, he was made equal in power to the dictator, both generals being appointed to command, each his own part of the army. Thus poſſeſſed of equal power, Minucius began by altering the prudent plan of Fabius. From keeping on the tops of the mountains, he now drew down his part of the army into the plain, and offered the enemy battle. This was the diſpoſition that Hannibal had long wiſhed for, and, pretending to be very earneſt in taking poſſeſſion of an hill which commanded the camp of the Romans, he drew the eyes of all to that quarter, while he formed an ambuſcade on the other ſide, with orders to ſally forth in the midſt of the engagement. The Romans accordingly made a moſt vigorous attack upon the Carthaginians, who had taken poſſeſſion of the hill, while new re-inforcements were ſent from either army. At laſt, Minucius drew out

his

his legions, and the engagement became general. It was then that the ſuperiour conduct of the Carthaginian commander was diſcovered; for the men who were placed in ambuſh ſallying forth upon the rear, began to throw the whole Roman army into confuſion, and nothing leſs than a total defeat threatened to enſue. In the mean time, Fabius, who was returned from Rome, after ſolliciting an exchange of priſoners, and after ſelling all his little patrimony, to raiſe a ſum which he was denied by the ſenate, to pay their ranſom, appeared while Minucius was in this deſperate ſituation. He did not long heſitate upon the courſe he ſhould purſue; but falling upon the Carthaginians at once ſtopped the flight of the Romans, and obſtructed the enemies purſuit. Hannibal now perceived, that the cloud which had ſo long hovered upon the mountains, at laſt, broke upon him in a ſtorm; he was obliged, therefore, to command a retreat; while Minucius was ſo convinced of his former raſhneſs, that he confeſſed his error to Fabius, whom he now called his father; and renouncing his new power, again ſubjected himſelf freely to the dictator.

Soon after, however, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, his time being expired, and a violent conteſt enſued at Rome, reſpecting the proper perſons to be elected to the conſulſhip. The patricians and the plebeians, as uſual, taking

oppoſite

oppoſite ſides, at laſt the multitude prevailed, and Terentius Varro was choſen by the majority of the voices in the aſſembly of the people. This Terentius Varro was a man ſprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. He had long aſpired at the higheſt offices of the ſtate: though he was ignorant, vain, boaſtful, and confident, fond of popular applauſe, and ſeeking it by all the arts of meanneſs and adulation. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a diſpoſition entirely oppoſite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impreſſed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his colleague. Fabius, who had juſt reſigned his office, ſaw with his uſual ſagacity, the danger that threatened the ſtate, from two ſuch ill matched commanders, and entreated Æmilius, by all he held dear, to guard againſt the devices of Hannibal, and the raſhneſs of Terentius Varro. But it was now no time for indulging fearful apprehenſions, the enemy being at hand, and the Romans finding themſelves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, being almoſt ninety thouſand ſtrong.

Hannibal was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a wind that for a certain ſeaſon blows one way, in his rear, which raiſing great clouds of duſt from the parched plains behind, he knew muſt greatly diſtreſs

diſtreſs an approaching enemy. In this ſituation he waited the coming up of the Romans, with an army of forty thouſand foot and half that number of cavalry. The two conſuls ſoon appeared, to his wiſh, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the command every day by turns. On the firſt day of their arrival, it falling to the lot of Æmilius to command, he was entirely averſe to engaging; and though Hannibal did all that lay in his power, by inſulting his men in their camp, and his colleague, by reproaching his timidity, to bring him to a battle, yet he obſtinately declined fighting, conſcious of the enemy's ſuperior diſpoſition. The next day, however, it being Varro's turn to command, he, without aſking his colleague's concurrence, gave the ſignal for battle; and paſſing the river Aufidus, which lay between the two armies, put his forces in array. The two conſuls commanded the two wings; Varro, on the right, and Æmilius on the left; to whom alſo was conſigned the general conduct of the engagement. On the other ſide, Hannibal, who, had been from day-break employed in marſhalling his forces as they came up, and inſpiring them with courage by his voice and example, made ſo artful a diſpoſition that both the wind and the ſun were in his favour. His cavalry were ordered to oppoſe thoſe of

Rome. His heavy armed African infantry were placed in the wings. Theſe, ſays the hiſtorian, might have been miſtaken for a Roman army, being dreſſed in the ſpoils of ſuch as were killed at Trebia and Thraſymene. Next theſe were the Gauls, a fierce people, naked from the waiſt, bearing large round ſhields, and ſwords of an enormous ſize, blunted at the point. The Spaniards were placed in the centre, brandiſhing ſhort pointed daggers, and dreſſed in linen veſts, embroidered with the brighteſt ſcarlet. Aſdrubal commanded the left wing, the right was given to Maherbal, and Hannibal fought on foot in the centre of the army. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horſe engaged ſoon after; and the Roman cavalry being unable to ſtand againſt thoſe of Numidia, the legions came up to ſuſtain them. It was then that the conflict became general; the Roman ſoldiers, for a long time, endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Hannibal obſerving, ordered part of thoſe troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to emboſom themſelves within a choſen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on either wing, ſo as to ſurround them: a terrible ſlaughter began to enſue of the Romans, fatigued with repeated attacks from the Africans, who were freſh and vigorous. All

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the hopes of Rome now lay in the cavalry of the allies, which yet continued unbroken, but even on that ſide the great art of Hannibal diſcovered itſelf: for having ordered five hundred of his Numidian horſe, who had daggers concealed under their coats of mail, to go againſt the enemy, and to make a ſhow of ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war; theſe obeying, and being placed by the allied cavalry, for greater ſecurity, in the rear, while they were employed in combating the troops that oppoſed them in front, all of a ſudden, theſe ſuppoſed priſoners fell upon the Romans with their daggers from behind, and put them into irrecoverable confuſion.

Thus the rout at laſt became general in every part of the Roman army; the boaſtings of Varro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been dangerouſly wounded by a ſlinger in the beginning of the engagement, ſtill feebly led on his body of horſe, and did all that could be done to oppoſe the enemy; however, being unable to ſit on horſeback, he was forced to diſmount, as did alſo thoſe who followed him. But what could be expected from a meaſure dictated only by deſpair! Though they fought with great intrepidity for ſome time, they were at laſt obliged to give way; thoſe that were able, re-mounting their horſes, and ſeeking ſafety by flight. It was in this deplorable condition of things, that one Lentulus,

a tribune

a tribune of the army, as he was flying on horſe-back from the enemy, which at ſome diſtance purſued him, met the conſul Æmilius ſitting upon a ſtone, covered over with blood and wounds, and waiting for the coming up of the purſuers. "Æmilius (cried the generous tri-" bune) you, at leaſt, are guiltleſs of this day's " ſlaughter: take my horſe, while you have " any ſtrength remaining; I will engage to aſ-" ſiſt, and will with my life defend you. We " have already loſt blood enough in the field, " do not make the day more dreadful by the " loſs of a commander."—"I thank thee, " Lentulus (cried the dying conſul) for ever " maintain thy virtue, and may the gods re-" compenſe thy piety; but as for me, all is " over, my part is choſen; do not, therefore, " by attempting to perſuade a deſperate man, " loſe the only means of procuring thine own " ſafety. Go, I command thee, and tell the " ſenate, from me, to fortify Rome againſt " the approach of the conquerors. Tell Fabius " alſo, that Æmilius, while living, ever remem-" bered his advice; and now, dying, approves " it." While he was yet ſpeaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, before he was out of view, ſaw the conſul expire, feebly fighting in the midſt of hundreds. The ſlaughter had now continued for ſeveral hours, till at laſt, the conquerors quite wearied with deſtroying, Hannibal

gave

gave orders for them to desist, and led them back to their encampment, a large body of Romans having surrendered upon condition of being dismissed without arms. In this battle, the Romans lost fifty thousand men, two quæstors, twenty-one tribunes, eighty senators, and so many knights, that, it is said, Hannibal sent three bushels of gold rings to Carthage, which those of this order had worn on their fingers.

This seemed the decisive blow, that was to determine the fate of Rome: it only now remained, and was universally expected, that Hannibal would march his army to the gates of the city, and make it an easy conquest. This was the advice of Maherbal, commander of the horse, who, when Hannibal rejected it, could not help observing, that the Carthaginian general was much more skilful in gaining victories, than in improving them. Indeed, Maherbal's advice seems to appear reasonable, from the general terrour that prevailed in Rome at that time. Nothing was heard throughout the city but shrieks and lamentations of women, who on every side demanded their husbands or their children. In vain, for a time, could the senators consult together, being disturbed by the cries of the populace. Nothing but terrour appeared in every face; and despair was the language of every tongue. At length, when the

firſt conſternation was abated, the ſenate came to a general reſolution, to create a dictator, in order to give ſtrength to the government. Orders were alſo given, to keep all women from coming abroad, and ſpreading the general terrour; and guards were placed at the city gates, with ſtrict injunctions, that none ſhould leave the city. It was now that young Scipio, whom we have already ſeen ſaving his father's life in battle, was reſolved to ſave his country alſo. He was then but a tribune of the army, and being retired the night after the battle, to a little town in the neighbourhood of Rome, was informed, that ſome young men of the firſt families in the city, were at a certain houſe, preparing to abandon their country, and reſolving to ſeek for ſafety elſewhere. He was inſtantly filled with indignation at their puſillanimity; he therefore reſolved to prevent that influence which their example might have upon others; and turning to ſome of his fellow ſoldiers, who were with him, "Let thoſe "(cried he) to whom Rome is dear, follow me." So ſaying, he went directly to the houſe where they were aſſembled, and found them in actual deliberation. Upon this, laying his hand upon his ſword, "I ſwear (cried he) that I will "never forſake Rome, and will never ſuffer "others to abandon it. Thoſe who will not "take the ſame oath, are not only their coun-

try's

"try's enemies, but mine." The reſolute manner in which he ſpoke this, together with his known courage, in ſome meaſure intimidated the conſpirators; they all took the ſame oath, and vowed, rather than forſake Rome, to ſtay till they were buried beneath its ruins. Thenceforward, the people ſeemed to gather new reſolution; the ſenate conceived new hopes of victory, aud the augurs gave them aſſurances that their affairs would ſoon have a favourable appearance. A ſhort time after, Varro arrived near Rome, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army: he had been the principal cauſe of the late calamity; and it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the ſenate would ſeverely reprimand the raſhneſs of his conduct. But far otherwiſe! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the ſenate returned him thanks, that he had not deſpaired of the ſafety of Rome. Such a conqueſt over all the vindictive paſſions, was much greater than the victory at Cannæ. The people being thus, by Hannibal's delay, inſpired with freſh courage, made all poſſible preparations for another campaign. They armed their ſlaves, and filled up the ſenate, which wanted near half its number. Fabius, who was conſidered as the ſhield of Rome, and Marcellus as the ſword, were appointed to lead the armies; and, though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refuſed it, but upon condition that

he ſhould quit Italy—Terms ſimilar to thoſe they had formerly inſiſted upon from Pyrrhus.

In the mean time, Hannibal, either finding the impoſſibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces reſt after ſuch an important victory, led them to Capua, where he reſolved to winter. As this city had long been conſidered as the nurſe of luxury, and the corrupter of all military virtue, a new ſcene of pleaſure opened to his troops, and they at once gave themſelves up to the intoxication, till, from being hardy veterans, they became infirm rioters. For this he has been greatly blamed by antiquity, as loſing that happy occaſion, when fortune ſeemed kind, and exchanging empire for diſſipation; but it is not conſidered, what numberleſs obſtacles he had to ſurmount, and what an enemy he had to deal with. Rome was ſtill powerful; it could bring into the field, if we may judge from the lateſt eſtimate that was made of its numbers, two hundred thouſand fighting men; it might, therefore, have been raſhneſs in Hannibal, to lead his army to the ſiege of a city, ſtrongly defended by art, and with a garriſon more than four times equal to his army. We have only to give him credit, upon this occaſion, for what he would have done, by remembering the ſeeming impoſſibilities which he happily achieved. To have led and maintained a large

army, conſiſting of various nations, more than a thouſand miles from home; to have ſurmounted precipices, which, conſidering where he entered Italy, are, to this day, regarded as almoſt impaſſable; to have fought ſucceſsfully, for many years, in the heart of an enemy's country; to have, by his ſingle preſence, united into obedience, and formed into one body, an army, compoſed of Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and Ligurians, and kept them ſteady to him, though often wanting bread; to have a brave and obſtinate enemy to combat, and faithleſs employers at home, who retarded, becauſe they envied his ſucceſſes; when we conſider him as triumphing over all theſe obſtacles by the ſtrength of his genius alone, we view in him the moſt auguſt ſpectacle that, perhaps, antiquity has ever exhibited.

Hitherto we have found this great man ſucceſsful; but now we are to reverſe the picture, and ſurvey him ſtruggling with accumulated misfortunes, and, at laſt, ſinking beneath them. His firſt repulſe was from his own countrymen at home. Whilſt, at Rome, the thanks of the ſenate were voted to a conſul who fled; at Carthage, Hanno, one of their former generals, began to form a party againſt Hannibal; and, more an enemy to his rival than to the Romans, forgot nothing that might obſtruct the ſucceſſes

he had in proſpect, or tarniſh the ſplendour of thoſe he had already obtained. Upon Hannibal's ſending for a new ſupply of men and money to the ſenate of Carthage, "What "would this man have aſked (cried Hanno) if "he had loſt a battle, when he makes ſuch "demands upon us after gaining a victory? "No, no, he is either an impoſtor, that amuſes "us with falſe news; or a publick robber, that "enriches himſelf, and not his country." This oppoſition, the effects of which ſtill continued to operate, delayed the neceſſary ſuccours, though it could not hinder their tardy compliance. Thus, being frequently deſtitute of money and proviſions, with no recruits of ſtrength in caſe of ill fortune, and no encouragement even when ſucceſsful, it is not to be wondered at, that his affairs began at length to decline; and that thoſe of the Roman generals began to proſper, whoſe employers obſerved a contrary conduct.

His firſt loſs was at the ſiege of Nola, where Marcellus the prætor made a ſucceſsful ſally. He ſome time after attempted to raiſe the ſiege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. He then made a feint of going to beſiege Rome; but finding a ſuperior army ready to
U. C. receive him, he was obliged to retire. For
544. ſome years after, he fought with various ſucceſs;

Marcellus, his opponent, ſometimes gaining, and ſometimes loſing the advantage, but coming to no deciſive engagement. However, even victories could not reſtore the affairs of Hannibal; for, though theſe might leſſen the number of his enemies forces, he had exhauſted all the arts of recruiting his own.

The ſenate of Carthage, at length, came to a reſolution of ſending his brother Aſdrubal to his aſſiſtance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Aſdrubal's march being made known to the conſuls, Livius and Nero, they went againſt him with great expedition, and ſurrounding him in a place, into which he was led by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to pieces. Hannibal had long expected theſe ſuccours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been aſſured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Aſdrubal's head to be cut off, and thrown into Hannibal's camp. The Carthaginian general began to perceive the approaches of the downfall of Carthage; and could not help, with a ſigh, obſerving to thoſe about him, that fortune ſeemed fatigued with granting her favours.

But it was not in Italy alone, that the affairs of Carthage ſeemed to decline; for the Romans, while yet bleeding from their defeat at Cannæ, ſent legions into Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily.

This unconquerable people, ſurrounded by enemies on every ſide, ſtill found reſources to oppoſe them all; they not only fought thoſe nations, but appointed freſh ſuccours to the few allies that yet adhered to them: they made head againſt Hannibal in Italy; and undertook a new war againſt Philip, king of Macedon, for having made a league with the Carthaginians. Fortune ſeemed to favour them in almoſt all their enterpriſes. Lævinus, the conſul, gained conſiderable advantages over Philip; and Marcellus took the city of Syracuſe, in Sicily, after a long and vigorous defence.

This great city firſt invited the efforts of the beſiegers, as it was generally thought indefenſible, and its riches were very great. The Romans, therefore, ſat down before it, with the expectation of a ſpeedy ſurrender, and immenſe plunder. But the wiſdom of one man alone ſeemed to ſuſpend its fate: this was Archimedes, the celebrated mathematician, many of whoſe works are ſtill remaining; he deſtroyed their men, and demoliſhed their ſhipping. He ſo united the powers of mechaniſm, that he raiſed their veſſels into the air, and then let them daſh to pieces, by the violence of their fall. He alſo made uſe of burning glaſſes, which, at the diſtance of ſome hundred yards, ſet the Roman ſhips and wooden towers on fire.

At

At laſt, however, the town was taken, on a great feſtival, by ſurpriſe. The inhabitants were put to the ſword; and, among the reſt, Archimedes, who was found meditating in his ſtudy, was ſlain by a Roman ſoldier. Marcellus was not a little grieved at his death. A paſſion for letters, at that time, began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which his own works have long ſurvived.

As to the affairs of the Romans in Spain, though for a while they appeared doubtful, two of the Scipios being ſlain, and Claudius Nero, the governor of the province, appearing an under-match for the cunning of the Carthaginian general; yet they ſoon recovered under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who ſued for the office of proconſul to that kingdom, at a time when every one elſe was willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty-four years old, had all the qualifications requiſite for forming a great general, and a good man: he united the greateſt courage with the greateſt tenderneſs; ſuperior to Hannibal in the arts of peace, and almoſt his equal in thoſe of war. His father had been killed in Spain, ſo that he ſeemed to have an hereditary claim to attack that country. So many great qualities rendered him irreſiſtible; and though he obtained many great

great victories, yet he conquered more by his generoſity, mildneſs, and benevolent diſpoſition, than by the force of his arms. Among other inſtances of the greatneſs of Scipio's mind, the following is particularly recorded: Upon the taking of New Carthage, he treated his priſoners with the utmoſt lenity, and, different from other generals, who permitted every barbarity to the ſoldiers, he repreſſed his men from doing any injury to ſuch as ſued for mercy. Among the priſoners that were made at the taking that city, a young princeſs was brought before him, of the moſt exquiſite beauty: ſhe had been promiſed to Alleucius, a prince of that country, who loved her with the moſt ardent paſſion, and had felt the moſt poignant diſtreſs at her captivity. It was thought, by the ſollicitude the generous Roman ſeemed to ſhew, that he deſigned aſking her for himſelf; and more ſo, when he deſired, that her parents, as well as Alleucius, might come before him. The young prince approached, trembling with anxiety, expecting to hear, that his miſtreſs, who was now the property of another, was intended to promote the happineſs of her conqueror: but his fears were diſpelled, when Scipio, giving the princeſs to his arms, bade him take what was his by a prior claim, and only deſired his friendſhip and alliance in return: at the ſame time, he refuſed the ranſom which her

her parents had brought; and when they preſſed him to accept it, he deſired it might be added to her portion. It was by ſuch generous acts as theſe, as well as the fortune of his arms, that he reduced the whole country to the obedience of the Romans.

In this manner, Spain and Sicily being added to the Roman empire, it ſoon found reſources for continuing the Punick war. However, Hannibal ſtill kept his ground in Italy, although he was unſupported at home, and but indifferently aſſiſted by the alliances he had made ſince his croſſing the Alps. He had continued in this country for more than fourteen years, and, as Polybius ſays, had never loſt a battle, where he was the commander. But it was now too late to retrieve his fortune; the Romans were taught his own arts; his old army was worn out, either with exceſſes of fatigue or debauchery; his countrymen had neglected to ſend new ſupplies; ſo that he had nothing left to make him formidable, but the fame of his former good fortune.

It was in this poſture of his affairs, that Scipio returned with an army from the conqueſt of Spain, and was made conſul at the age of twenty-nine. It was at firſt ſuppoſed he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him from thence; but Scipio had already formed a wiſer plan, which was

to

to carry the war into Africa, and, while the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital. This meaſure was oppoſed with great heat by Fabius, and thereupon a conſiderable difference aroſe; but at laſt it was determined by the ſenate, that Scipio ſhould have Sicily for his province, and that leave ſhould be given him to paſs over into Africa, if he ſaw it convenient for the intereſts of Rome. This he conſidered as a concurrence with his intentions; he accordingly ſpent the firſt year in Sicily, providing neceſſaries for his intended expedition, and went over to Africa the beginning of the next, with a large fleet, where he was joined by Maſſiniſſa, the depoſed king of Numidia, with whom he had made an alliance in Spain.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employment; for, in a ſhort time, Hanno oppoſed him, but he was defeated and ſlain. Syphax, the uſurper of Numidia, aſſembled a large army againſt him. The Roman general, for a time, declined fighting, till finding an opportunity, he ſet fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking them in the midſt of the confuſion, killed forty thouſand men, and took ſix thouſand priſoners. Not long after, Syphax, willing to ſtrike one blow more for empire, and fearing that his kingdom would return to the true poſſeſſor, in caſe the Romans ſhould ſucceed, gathered together a numerous

numerous army of various nations, and with theſe unexperienced troops marched againſt Scipio. His former ill fortune followed him; he was ſoon defeated, and taken priſoner. Maſſiniſſa being thus put in poſſeſſion of the uſurper's perſon, the better to regain his kingdom, marched with the utmoſt expedition to Cirta, the chief city, and ſhewing Syphax in bonds, procured the gates to be opened, every one ſtriving to atone for their former diſloyalty, by their ready obedience. In this manner Maſſiniſſa became poſſeſſed of the royal palace, and all the wealth of the late king; but among the reſt, he became maſter of a treaſure that he eſteemed above all, Sophoniſba, the wife of Syphax. Sophoniſba was the daughter of Aſdrubal, one of the Carthaginian generals: a woman of great ambition, and incomparable beauty, who, from the beginning, had incited Syphax to declare againſt Rome, in favour of Carthage; and the influence of her charms was ſuch, that he ſacrificed ſafety to the poſſeſſion of her perſon.

Upon Maſſiniſſa's entering the palace, he was met by the queen, who, with all the allurements of weeping beauty, fell at his feet, and entreated him to ſpare her youth, and not deliver her up to the Romans, who were prepared to take vengeance upon her, for all the injuries done them by her father. While ſhe yet hung upon his knees, and, in ſome meaſure,

ſure, mixed careſſes with her entreaties, Maſſiniſſa found himſelf touched with a paſſion that was ſomething more than pity: he therefore quickly granted her requeſt, and finding her not averſe to his ſollicitations, the very day they met was that of their nuptials. The firſt account that Scipio had of this haſty and unjuſt marriage, was from the unfortunate Syphax himſelf, who attempted to palliate his enmity to Rome, by throwing the blame upon Sophoniſba, and then deſcribed the wretchedneſs of his ſituation, with an eloquence pointed by jealouſy. Scipio was inſtantly fired with reſentment at the conduct of the young king: he now ſaw that all his former lectures, exhorting to continence and humanity, were but thrown away; he therefore deſired to ſpeak with Maſſiniſſa in private, where he urged the cruelty, the impropriety, and the injuſtice of taking the wife of another, and that on the day on which he had loſt his liberty and his kingdom; he entreated the young king to recollect his former virtuous reſolutions, and reject a paſſion that was attended with infamy. Finding, however, theſe remonſtrances make no impreſſion, he added, that Syphax was now the priſoner of Rome; that he muſt wait upon the ſenate; and that his queen, who was a priſoner alſo, muſt attend him there. Maſſiniſſa now finding that the obſtacles to his happineſs were inſurmountable,

mountable, left Scipio in a ſeeming acquieſcence with his advice, but feeling all that tumult of paſſions, which diſappointed love, and ungoverned inclination, could excite. At laſt, calling to one of his ſlaves who carried poiſon, according to the cuſtom of barbarian kings, "Go (ſaid he) and preſent the queen, from "me, with a bowl of poiſon; death is now "the only way ſhe has left for eſcaping the "power of the Romans. The daughter of "Aſdrubal, and the wife of a king, will "conſult her glory." When the ſlave preſented his miſtreſs with the bowl, "I take it "(cried ſhe) as the kindeſt offering he can "make. In the mean time, inform him, that "my death would have been more glorious, "had it been more diſtant from my marriage." So ſaying, ſhe drank off the poiſon with intrepidity, and died, without ſhewing any ſigns of terrour.

In the mean time, while theſe things were tranſacting at Cirta, the Carthaginians were ſo terrified at their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's former ſucceſſes, that they determined to recall Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppoſe the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, with a poſitive command, to return and oppoſe the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a ſiege. Nothing could exceed

ceed the regret and diſappointment of Hannibal, upon receiving this order; he had long foreſeen the ruin of his country, but at the ſame time knew, that Italy was the only place in which its fate could be ſuſpended. However, he obeyed the orders of his infatuated country, with the ſame ſubmiſſion that the meaneſt ſoldier would have done, and took leave of Italy, with tears in his eyes, after having kept poſſeſſion of the moſt beautiful parts of it for above fifteen years.

After a melancholy paſſage from Italy, where he had loſt his two brothers, with moſt of his generals, and left the allies of his country to the fury of the conquerors, he arrived at Leptis, in Africa, from whence he marched to Adrumentum, and at laſt approached Zama, a city within five days journey of Carthage. Scipio, in the mean time, led his army to meet him, joined by Maſſiniſſa, with ſix thouſand horſe; and, to ſhew his rival in the field, how little he feared his approach, ſent back the ſpies, which went to explore his camp, having previouſly ſhewn them the whole, with directions to inform Hannibal of what they had ſeen. The Carthaginian general ſoon diſcovered the ſuperior force of the enemy, compoſed of the flower of the Romans; while his own army was now but a mixture of various nations, drawn together by neceſſity, with no experience,

and

and with little other diſcipline than what the ſhort time he commanded them could give. The troops that had almoſt ſubdued Italy were worn out, or but nominally exiſting in his army. Conſcious of this, his firſt endeavours were to diſcontinue the war, by negociation; and he deſired a meeting with Scipio, to confer upon terms of peace, to which the Roman general aſſented. It was in a large plain between the two armies, that the two greateſt generals in the world came to an interview: each, for a while, ſilently regarded his opponent, as if ſtruck with mutual reverence and eſteem. Scipio was, in figure, adorned with all advantages of manly beauty; Hannibal bore the marks in his viſage of hard campaigns; and the loſs of one eye gave a ſtern air to his countenance. Hannibal ſpoke firſt, to this effect: "Where I not convinced of the equity "of the Romans, I would not this day have "come to demand peace from the ſon, over "whoſe father I have formerly been victorious. "Would to heaven. that the ſame moderation, "which I hope inſpires us at this day, had pre-"vailed among us at the beginning of the war; "that you had been content with the limits of "your Italian dominions, and that we had ne-"ver aimed at adding Sicily to our empire; "we had then on both ſides ſpared that blood, "which no rewards from victory can repay.

" As for myſelf, age has taught me the inanity
" of triumphs, and the inſtability of fortune:
" but you are young, and perhaps not yet
" leſſoned in the ſchool of adverſity; you
" are now what I was after the battles of
" Cannæ and Thraſymene; you perhaps will
" aim at ſplendid, rather than at uſeful vir-
" tues. But conſider, that peace is the end
" at which all victories ought to aim; and that
" peace I am ſent here by my country to offer:
" do not therefore expoſe to the hazard of
" an hour, that fame which you have obtained
" by an age of conqueſts. At preſent, Scipio,
" fortune is in your power; a moment of time
" may give it to your enemy. But let me not
" call myſelf ſuch: it is Hannibal who now
" addreſſes you, Hannibal who eſteems your vir-
" tues, and deſires your friendſhip. Peace will
" be uſeful to us both. As for me, I ſhall be
" proud of the alliance of Rome; and you have
" it in your power to convert an active enemy
" into a ſtedfaſt friend."—To this Scipio replied,
" That as the wars which he complained of
" were begun by the Carthaginians, they ought
" not to complain of the conſequences: that
" as to himſelf he could never condemn his
" own perſeverance on the ſide of juſtice:
" that ſome outrages had been committed
" during the late truce, which required repara-
" tion; and which, if conſented too, he was

" willing

"willing to conclude a treaty." Both ſides parted diſſatisfied; they returned to their camps to prepare for deciding the controverſy by the ſword. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the empire that was in diſpute. The diſpoſition Hannibal made of his men is ſaid, by the ſkilful in the art of war, to be ſuperior to any even of his former arrangements. He encouraged the various nations of his army, by the different motives which led them to the field; to the mercenaries, he promiſed a diſcharge of their arrears, and double pay, with plunder in caſe of a victory; the Gauls he inſpired, by aggravating their natural hatred to the Romans; the Numidians by repreſenting the cruelty of their new king; and the Carthaginians, by reminding them of their country, their glory, the danger of ſervitude, and their deſire of freedom. Scipio, on the other hand, with a chearful countenance, deſired his legions to rejoice, for that their labours and their dangers were now near at an end; that the Gods had given Carthage into their hands; and that they ſhould ſoon return triumphant to their friends, their wives, and their children. The battle began with the elephants, on the ſide of the Carthaginians; theſe animals being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the ſlingers and archers,

chers, turned upon their drivers, and cauſed much confuſion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of the horſe, in which their greateſt ſtrength conſiſted, the heavy infantry joined on both ſides. The Romans were more vigorous and powerful in the ſhock, the Carthaginians more active and ready, However, they were unable to withſtand the continued preſſure of the Roman ſhields, but at firſt gave way a little, and this ſoon brought on a general flight. The rear guard, who had orders from Hannibal to oppoſe thoſe who fled, now began to attack their own forces; ſo that the body of the infantry ſuſtained a double encounter, of thoſe who cauſed their flight, and thoſe who endeavoured to prevent it. At length the general, finding it impoſſible to reduce them to order, directed that they ſhould fall behind, while he brought up his freſh forces to oppoſe the purſuers. Scipio, upon this, immediately ſounded a retreat, in order to bring up his men a ſecond time in good order. And now the combat began afreſh, between the flower of both armies. The Carthaginians, however, having been deprived of the ſuccour of their elephants and their horſe, and their enemies being ſtronger of body, were obliged to give ground. In the mean time, Maſſiniſſa, who had been in purſuit of their cavalry,

cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, conpleted their defeat. A total rout, enſued; twenty thouſand men were killed in the battle or the purſuit, and as many were taken priſoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted ſoldier could perform, fled with a ſmall body of horſe to Adrumetum, fortune ſeeming to delight in rendering ineffectual his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, offered conditions to the Romans, which they dictated, not as rivals, but as ſovereigns. By this treaty, the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea. They were bound to pay ten thouſand talents in fifty years; to give hoſtages for the delivery of their ſhips and their elephants; to reſtore Maſſiniſſa all the territories that had been taken from him, and not to make war in Africa, but by the permiſſion of the Romans. Thus ended the ſecond Punic war, ſeventeen years after it had begun. Carthage ſtill continued an empire, but without power to defend its poſſeſſions, and only waiting the pleaſure of the conqueror, when they ſhould think proper to put a period to its continuance. After the depreſſion of this mighty dominion, the Romans were ſeldom engaged except in petty wars, and U. C.

while they obtained great victories; whereas before, they had obtained but trifling advantages, and were engaged in dangerous wars.

CHAP. XVII.

From the End of the ſecond Punick war to the End of the third, which terminated in the Deſtruction of Carthage.

UPON the concluſion of ſo great and long a war as that with Carthage, there ſeemed to ariſe a certain ſpirit in the Roman republick, unknown till that time. Men, till now, had received diſtinction from their abilities, their families, their offices, or their virtues: but upon the conqueſt of ſuch various countries, ſuch great riches, and ſo many ſlaves were brought into Rome, that the manners of the citizens began to alter. Riches gave them a taſte for pleaſures unknown before; and the ſlaves they had taken were put to thoſe offices of labour and huſbandry, that had formerly contributed to harden the warrior, and mark the character of Roman ſimplicity. Their love for their country, and their zeal for the publick good, ſeemed to be exhauſted in the war againſt Hannibal: many had given up their whole fortunes to the republick; and not finding

ing that recompence in peace, which the publick was as yet unable to grant them, ſuffered neglect patiently for a while, and at laſt converted their anger at the ingratitude of the ſtate, into a deſire for private intereſt: they ſought new connections in ſociety; and forgetting the whole, laboured to form particular dependencies.

The ſenate, however, proſecuted new wars, rather with a view to keep theſe ſpirits from doing harm to the empire, than to advance its intereſts. They continued to carry on the Macedonian war againſt Philip; who, as was obſerved before, had entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, during the conqueſts of Hannibal. To this war the Romans were not a little incited by the prayers of the Athenians; who, from controlling the power of Perſia, were now unable to defend themſelves. The Rhodians, with Attalus king of Pergamus, alſo entered into the confederacy againſt Philip. He was more than once defeated by Galba, the conſul, who was ſent againſt him. He attempted to beſiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. He attempted to take poſſeſſion of the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them, by Quintus Flaminius, with great ſlaughter. He attempted to take refuge in Theſſaly, where he was again defeated.

with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to beg a peace, upon condition of paying a thouſand talents, half down, and the other half in the ſpace of ten years. The peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of ſhewing their generoſity, by reſtoring liberty to Greece. They had for ſome time ſubmitted to the inſtitutions of this refined people; and now, from a principal of gratitude, endeavoured to recompenſe their maſters. The ſenate therefore ſent ten men of the firſt rank, with Flaminius at their head, to proclaim an univerſal freedom, at the Iſthmian games, where the people were aſſembled. This was the moſt ſurpriſing and joyful gift that could be imagined to a people panting after liberty, and whoſe anceſtors had ſpent their deareſt blood in its cauſe. The Greeks gave them all the return that was in their power; namely, praiſe: this ſatisfied the Romans, for vanity was now the ruling paſſion of the times: and thus ended what was called the firſt Macedonian war, five years after it was proclaimed, and twenty after it had begun.

U. C. 558.

During the continuance of this war, the Gauls, who had joined with Hannibal, received ſome ſignal overthrows. The Spaniards, alſo, who had revolted, were quelled by Cato the cenſor. The Ligurians, though joining with the Gauls, were ſubdued. Nabis, the depoſed king of Lacedæmon,

Lacedæmon, oppoſed the Romans, but was forced to ſubmit. Scarce any nation or prince of power attempted to oppoſe them, that was not overthrown. Antiochus, king of Syria, was a monarch, whoſe ſtrength and fame invited their ambition; and after ſome embaſſies on both ſides, a war was declared againſt him, five years after the concluſion of the Macedonian war. The pretext of the Romans was, that he had made encroachments upon the Grecian ſtates, who were their allies; and that he had given refuge to Hannibal, their inveterate enemy, who had been expelled from Carthage. This Antiochus, who was ſurnamed the Great, was one of Alexander's ſucceſſors, a potent prince, bold, ambitious, and maſter of very extenſive dominions, which his perſonal abilities invigorated and inſpired. The Ætolians, who had imagined they ſhould bear ſway in Greece, by joining with the Romans, found, too late, that they had only brought themſelves to ſhare the general ſubjection, in which the reſt of the ſtates of Greece were held, under the ſpecious denomination of freedom. In order, therefore to correct one extravagance by another, they invited this prince among them, in the ſame manner as before they had invited the Romans. He accordingly came to their aſſiſtance, with an army, but behaved as if he intended to be a ſpectator, rather than a manager of the war; and, inſtead

U. C. 563.

inſtead of preparing for the Romans, ſat down at Epheſus to take his pleaſures. Being appriſed of the enemy's approach, he endeavoured to treat for a peace; this not ſucceeding, he placed his dependence on his maritime forces; but even there his expectations were fruſtrated, though the great Hannibal was his admiral. In the midſt of the conſternation, occaſioned by theſe misfortunes, he abandoned Lyſimachia, a place where he might have held the enemy for a year; and, adding one indiſcretion to another, ſuffered Scipio, brother to the famous Africanus, to paſs the Helleſpont with his army without oppoſition.

He then attempted to obtain a peace, by offering to quit all his poſſeſſions in Europe; and ſuch in Aſia as profeſſed alliance to Rome. But it was now too late; the Roman general perceived his own ſuperiority, and was reſolved to avail himſelf of it. Antiochus, thus driven into reſiſtance, for ſome time retreated before the enemy, till, being preſſed hard, near the city of Magneſia, he was forced to draw out his men to the number of ſeventy thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. Scipio oppoſed him with forces, as much inferior in number, as they were ſuperior in courage and diſcipline. Antiochus therefore was in a ſhort time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with ſcythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much

much to his overthrow. Being thus reduced to the laſt extremity, he was glad to procure peace of the Romans, upon their own terms; which were, to pay fifteen thouſand talents towards the expences of the war; to quit all his poſſeſſions in Europe, and likewiſe all in Aſia, on that ſide Mount Taurus; to give twenty hoſtages as pledges of his fidelity; and to deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome. Thus ended the war with Antiochus, twelve years after the ſecond Punick war; and two after it had been begun. Lucius Scipio, who conducted it, with the aſſiſtance of his brother Scipio Africanus, who went as his lieutenant, was called Aſiaticus, from his ſucceſs in this Aſiatick expedition.

In the mean time Hannibal, whoſe deſtruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This conſummate general had been long a wanderer, and an exile from his ungrateful country: all that prudence and juſtice could inſpire, he had done for the ſafety of Carthage, even after the battle which he had loſt at Zama. Upon his return to his native city, he found the publick treaſures exhauſted among thoſe who pretended to collect them; and, when he endeavoured to puniſh their avarice, they accuſed him to the Romans, of attempting to renew the war. This bringing on a demand that he

ſhould be delivered up, he reſolved to yield to the neceſſity of the times, and abandon his country. Thus leaving Carthage, in the very robe he wore in council, and attended only by two followers, who were ignorant of his intentions, he began his voluntary exile. After two days travelling by land, he embarked, and landed on a little iſland in the Mediterranean ſea. There being known, by one who had formerly fought under his command, he was quickly ſurrounded by the inhabitants, who came from motives of reverence and curioſity. From thence he ſailed to Tyre, where he met with a kind reception from the inhabitants, who remembered their ancient alliance with Carthage. He thence went to the court of Antiochus, who at firſt gave him a ſincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which ſtation he ſhewed his uſual ſkill in ſtratagem. But Hannibal ſoon ſunk in the Syrian's eſteem; for having adviſed ſchemes, which that monarch had neither genius to underſtand, nor talents to execute; particularly that of a ſecond invaſion of Italy; he, at laſt, found himſelf deſtined to be given up, in order to propitiate the Romans, and confirm the peace. Sure, therefore, to find no ſafety or protection there, he departed privately; and, after wandering for a time among petty ſtates, who had neither power nor generoſity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Pruſias, king of Bithynia.

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In the mean time the Romans, with a vindictive ſpirit utterly unworthy of them, ſent Æmilius, one of their moſt celebrated generals, to demand him of this king; who, fearing the reſentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendſhip, by this breach of hoſpitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intent to deliver him up. The poor old general, thus implacably perſecuted from one country to another, and finding all methods of ſafety cut off, determined to die: he therefore deſired one of his followers to bring him poiſon, which he had ready for this exigence; and, while he was preparing to take it, "Let us rid "the Romans (ſays he) of their terrors, "ſince they are unwilling to wait for the death "of an old man like me: there was a time "when there was more generoſity among "them; there was a time when they were "known to guard their enemy from poiſon; "and now they baſely ſend an embaſſy to ſeek "the life of a baniſhed man; and to make a "feeble monarch break the laws of hoſpitality." Thus ſaying, and drinking the poiſon, he expired, as he had livid with intrepid bravery.

In the mean time, while theſe tranſactions happened, the ſpirit of diſſenſion ſeemed to rekindle in Rome. In the third year after ending the war with Antiochus, the tribunes of the people undertook to accuſe Scipio Africanus of defrauding

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defrauding the treaſury of the plunder which was taken in war, and of too intimate a correſpondence with that king. Accordingly, a day was appointed him by the tribunes to anſwer for his conduct. Scipio appeared at the time; but, inſtead of attempting a defence, reminded his countrymen, that on that very day he had gained the victory of Zama. This ſtruck the aſſembly of the people ſo ſtrongly, that they all left the tribunes in the Forum, and went to attend Scipio at the Capitol, to return their annual thanks to the Gods for the victory. The tribunes finding themſelves diſappointed here, reſolved to accuſe him in the ſenate; and deſired that he ſhould bring his accounts to anſwer to their charge. Scipio, inſtead of gratifying them in this demand, tore his accounts before them, and ſoon after withdrew to Linturnum, a town on the coaſt of Campania, where he ſpent the reſt of his life in peace and privacy: he lived, however, but three years longer, teſtifying his diſpleaſure againſt his countrymen, by the epitaph which he ordered to be engraved on his tomb: "Ungrateful countrymen! my bones ſhall not reſt among you."

U. C. 571. This was the ſame year on which Hannibal died, as alſo Philopœmen, a Grecian general, who was reckoned equal to either of the former.

The

The factious ſpirit which was now excited in Rome continued for ſeveral years, during all the ſubſequent wars and victories over the Ligurians, Iſtrians, Sardinians, Corſicans, and Macedonians, for the Romans ſoon after entered into a ſecond Macedonian war. This was with U. C. 583. Perſeus the ſon of Philip, the king of that country, whom we have already ſeen obliged to beg peace of the Romans. Perſeus, in order to ſecure the crown, had contrived to murder his brother Demetrius; and upon the death of his father, pleaſed with the hopes of imaginary triumphs, made war againſt Rome. During the courſe of this war, which continued about three years, many opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but being entirely ignorant of taking advantage of their raſhneſs, he ſpent the time in empty overtures for a peace. At length, Æmilius gave him a deciſive overthrow near the river Enipeus. He attempted to procure ſafety by flying into Crete; but being abandoned by all, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf, and to grace the ſplendid triumph of the Roman general. He was led, with his two ſons, before the conqueror's chariot into Rome; while Gentius, king, of the Illyrians, and his confederates, was in the ſame manner led captive, before the chariot of Lucius Amicus, one of the Roman admirals.

Theſe wars, which brought immenſe riches into the Roman treaſury, were no ſooner finiſhed, than they found a pretext to enter upon the third and laſt Punic war. Carthage was now a ſtate that only ſubſiſted by the mercy of the conquerors, and was to fall at the ſlighteſt breath of their indignation. About this time, Maſſiniſſa, the Numidian, having made ſome incurſions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invaſion. This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans who pretended to conſider their conduct as an infraction of the treaty, ſent to make a complaint. The ambaſſadors who were employed upon this occaſion finding the city very rich and flouriſhing, from the long interval of peace which it had enjoyed for near fifty years, either from motives of avarice to poſſeſs its plunder, or for fear of its growing greatneſs, inſiſted much on the neceſſity of a war. Among the chief of theſe was Cato the cenſor, who never ſpoke in the ſenate upon publick buſineſs, but he ended his ſpeech by inculcating the neceſſity of deſtroying Carthage. It was in vain that he was oppoſed by Naſica, who with more ſagacious forecaſt urged the danger of deſtroying a rival ſtate, that ſtill would be an incentive to Roman diſcipline. Cato's opinion prevailed, and the ſenate having a fair pretence to begin,

ordered war to be proclaimed, and the conſuls ſet out with a reſolution utterly to demoliſh Carthage.

The Carthaginians now perceived the wiſdom of Hannibal, who had foreſeen the conſequences of their conduct; but it was not till they had found their want of him. Affrighted at the Roman preparations (for they had, during this long period, been only intent on amaſſing private wealth, and no way careful for publick ſafety) they immediately condemned thoſe who had broken the league, and moſt humbly offered any reaſonable ſatisfaction. To theſe ſubmiſſions, the ſenate only returned an evaſive anſwer, demanding three hundred hoſtages within thirty days, as a ſecurity for their future conduct, and an implicit obedience to their further commands. With theſe articles it was ſuppoſed the Carthaginians would not comply; but it turned out otherwiſe, for this infatuated people deſiring peace on any terms, ſent their children within the limited time; and the conſuls landing at Utica ſoon after, were waited upon by deputies from Carthage, to know the ſenate's further demands, as certain of a ready acceptance. Upon this, the Roman generals were not a little perplexed, in what manner to force them into diſobedience; wherefore Cenſorinus the conſul, commending their diligence, demanded all their arms; but theſe alſo, con-

trary to expectation, they delivered up. At laſt, they found that the conquerors would not deſiſt from making demands, while the vanquiſhed had any thing left to ſupply. They therefore received orders to leave their city, which was to be levelled with the ground; at the ſame time having permiſſion to build another, in any part of their territories, within ten miles of the ſea. This ſevere command they received with all the concern and diſtreſs of a deſpairing people: they implored for a reſpite from ſuch an hard ſentence; they uſed tears and lamentations: but finding the conſuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy reſolution, prepared to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, and to fight to the laſt for their ſeat of empire, and their ancient habitations.

Upon returning home, and divulging the ill ſucceſs of their commiſſion, a general ſpirit of reſiſtance ſeemed to inſpire the whole people; they, now too late, began to ſee the danger of riches in a ſtate, when it had no longer power to defend them. Thoſe veſſels, therefore, of gold and ſilver, which their luxury had taken ſuch pride in, were converted into arms, as they had given up their iron, which was, in their preſent circumſtances, the moſt precious metal. The women parted alſo with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into ſtrings for the bowmen. Aſdrubal,

who had been lately condemned for oppoſing the Romans, was now taken from priſon to head their army; and ſuch preparations were made, that, when the conſuls came before the city, which they expected to find an eaſy conqueſt, they met with ſuch reſiſtance, as quite diſpirited their forces, and ſhook their reſolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls, with diſadvantage to the aſſailants; ſo that the ſiege would have been diſcontinued, had not Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted ſon of Africanus, who was appointed to command it, uſed as much ſkill to ſave his forces after a defeat, as to inſpire them with hopes of victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to ſeduce Pharneas, the maſter of the Carthaginian horſe, who came over to his ſide. He from that time went on ſucceſsfully; that part of Carthage called Megara was the firſt that was taken, while the inhabitants were driven into the citadel. He then ſecured the iſthmus which led to the city, and thus cut off all ſupplies of proviſions from the country. He next blocked up the haven; but the beſieged, with incredible induſtry, cut out a new paſſage into the ſea, whereby, at certain times, they could receive neceſſaries from the army without. That army, therefore, was to be ſubdued, ere the city could be thoroughly inveſted. Wherefore, Scipio ſet upon them in

the beginning of the enſuing winter, killed ſeventy thouſand of their men, and took ten thouſand priſoners of war. The unhappy townſmen, now bereft of all external ſuccour, reſolved upon every extremity, rather than ſubmit: but they ſoon ſaw the enemy make nearer approaches; the wall which led to the haven was quickly demoliſhed; ſoon after, the Forum was taken, which offered the conquerors a deplorable ſpectacle of houſes nodding to the fall, heaps of men lying dead, hundreds of the wounded ſtruggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel ſoon after ſurrendered at diſcretion. All now but the temple was ſubdued, which was defended by deſerters from the Roman army, and thoſe who had been moſt forward to undertake the war. Theſe, however, expecting no mercy, and finding their condition deſperate; ſet fire to the building, and voluntarily periſhed in the flames. Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian general, delivered himſelf up to the Romans when the citadel was taken; but his wife and two children ruſhed into the temple while on fire, and expired with their country. Then was this magnificent city laid in aſhes by the mercileſs conquerors; and ſo extenſive was it, being twenty-four miles in compaſs, that the burning continued for ſeventeen ſucceſſive days. The ſenate of Rome ordered that no part of it

ſhould

ſhould be rebuilt; it was demoliſhed to the ground; ſo that travellers are unable, at this day, to ſay with certainty where Carthage ſtood. All the cities which aſſiſted Carthage in this war, were ordered to ſhare the ſame fate, and the lands belonging to them were given to the friends of the Romans. The other towns of Africa became tributary to Rome, and were governed by an annual prætor; while the numberleſs captives that were taken in the courſe of this war, were ſold as ſlaves, except ſome few, that were adjudged to die by the hands of the executioner. This was the end of one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion; it had rivalled Rome for above an hundred years, and, at one time, was thought to have the ſuperiority. But all the grandeur of Carthage was founded on commerce alone, which is ever fluctuating, and, at beſt, ſerves to dreſs up a nation, to invite the conqueror, and only to adorn the victim for its deſtruction.

This conqueſt over Carthage was ſoon followed by many over other ſtates. Corinth, one of the nobleſt cities of Greece, in the ſame year, ſuſtained the like fate, being ſubdued by Mummius, the conſul, and levelled to the ground. The pretext for this violence was, that the Achaians had declared war againſt the Lacedæmonians, who were in alliance with Rome. Metellus the conſul, in conſequence of

this, drawing his army into Bœotia, overthrew their general Critolaus; and Mummius ſucceeding him in the command, overthrew Dicas, the Achæan general, and in conſequence demoliſhed Corinth, the ſpoils of which afterwards not a little contributed to embelliſh Rome. Spain, though at firſt victorious, was ſoon after entirely ſubdued. Viriatus, the Spaniſh commander, who from a ſhepherd became a robber, and afterwards a general over a numerous body of men like himſelf, gave the Romans ſome trouble, but was taken off, by the baſeſt treachery, by Cæpio, the Roman general, who bribed his own ambaſſadors, who were ſent to treat of a peace, to murder their maſter in his bed, upon their return. Quintius Pompeius and Mancianus alſo gained no greater honour, by combating this brave people: they were both obliged, in order to ſave their armies, to make ſo diſadvantageous a treaty, that the ſenate, by a mean ſubterfuge, ſent back Mancianus bound, for concluding upon terms with which they refuſed to concur. Lepidus alſo was equally unſucceſsful; for ſetting upon the Vaccæi, an harmleſs and peaceable people of that country, he was entirely defeated. At laſt, however, Scipio, who had deſtroyed Carthage (and who now, like the former of that name, was alſo ſurnamed Africanus) being made conſul, reſtored the fortune of Rome, and laying ſiege to Numantia,

the ſtrongeſt city in Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, fired the city over their own heads, and all, to a man, expired in the flames. Thus Spain became a province belonging to Rome, and was governed thenceforward by two annual prætors. From this treatment given to the conquered, we ſee how very different the Romans at that time were from their anceſtors, whoſe boaſt it was, to uſe lenity to thoſe whom they had ſubdued. But few nations can withſtand the intoxication of ſucceſs: as they began to conſider the whole world as their own, they reſolved to treat all thoſe who withſtood their arms, not as oppoſers, but revolters.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the Deſtruction of Carthage to the End of the Sedition of the Gracchi.

WE have hitherto ſeen this great people, by ſlow degrees, riſing into power, and, at length, reigning without a rival. We have hitherto ſeen all the virtues which give ſtrength and conqueſt, progreſſively, entering into the ſtate, and forming a mighty empire. From this time forward, we are to ſurvey a different picture; a powerful ſtate, giving admiſſion to all the vices that tend to divide, enſlave, and, at U. C. 621.

laſt, totally deſtroy ſociety. This ſeems to be the great period of Roman power; their conqueſts afterwards might be more numerous, and their dominions more extenſive, but their extenſion was rather an increaſe of glory than of ſtrength. For a long time, even after the admiſſion of their vices, the benefits of their former virtues continued to operate; but their future triumphs rather ſpread their power, than increaſed it; they rather gave it ſurface than ſolidity. They now began daily to degenerate from their ancient modeſty, plainneſs, and ſeverity of life. The triumphs and the ſpoils of Aſia brought in a taſte for ſplendid expence; and theſe produced avarice and inverted ambition; ſo that from henceforward, the hiſtory ſeems that of another people.

The two Gracchi were the firſt who ſaw this ſtrange corruption among the great, and reſolved to repreſs it, by renewing the Licinian law; which, as we have ſeen, had enacted, that no perſon in the ſtate ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land; but that the overplus ſhould become the property of the ſtate. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, was a perſon very conſiderable both for the advantages of his perſon, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandſon, he ſeemed more ambitious of power than deſirous of glory; he had a mind

fonder

fonder of embracing novelties, than of advancing or ſupporting eſtabliſhments already made: his contempt of money was apparent; and this only ſerved to leſſen his influence in a country that now began to ſet an immoderate value on riches: his compaſſion for the oppreſſed was equal to his animoſity againſt the oppreſſors: but unhappily his paſſions, rather than his reaſon, operated even in his purſuits of virtue; and theſe frequently drove him beyond the line of duty: his deſigns ſeemed, in the main, honeſt; but oppoſition put his intentions into diſorder; and though he began with principles of juſtice, he was at laſt obliged to exchange his rectitude for his party. This was the diſpoſition of the elder Gracchus, who found the lower part of the people (for the diſtinction between patricians and plebeians was now no more) ready to ſecond all his propoſals. Theſe, after long ſervices to the ſtate, found themſelves expoſed to the oppreſſions of the rich; who, by wreſting the laws, of which they had the management in their own hands, ſeiſed upon all the property, and left the poor only the danger and fatigue of defending it. Their continual injuries had alienated the hearts of the multitude; but they concealed their hatred, or, perhaps, thought it their duty to ſuffer; while the ſenate, unjuſt, corrupt, and mercenary, were only intent on covering their internal meanneſs, by the dignity of their

conqueſts

conqueſts abroad. This was the ſtate of parties, when Tiberius Gracchus procured himſelf to be choſen tribune of the people. It was he that had formerly attempted to retrench the power of Scipio Africanus, and had ſet him a day to anſwer before the people; and that now prevailed for preferring the Licinian law, by which it was prohibited that any perſon ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land. But willing to prevent this law being wreſted to the advantage of the great, as it had hitherto been, he cauſed it to be enacted alſo, that one half of the illicit ſurplus ſhould be given to the children of the tranſgreſſor; and the other half diſtributed to ſuch of the poor as had nothing; and, leſt any, by purchaſe, ſhould enlarge their poſſeſſions, three officers were appointed, called triumviri, who were to determine and examine the quantity of land occupied by every individual. This law, though at firſt carried on with proper moderation, greatly diſguſted the rich, who endeavoured to perſuade the people, that the propoſer only aimed at diſturbing the government, and putting all things into confuſion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greateſt eloquence of his time, eaſily wiped off theſe impreſſions from the minds of the people, already irritatedwith their wrongs; and, beſides, willing enough to forward a law, by which they were to be the only gainers. But, while the poor were

eager

eager for paſſing this law, the rich were equally ſtrenuous in oppoſing it. What was in the beginning but debate, by degrees grew into enmity, and the oppoſition ſeemed to kindle as it proceeded. At length, however, the law was paſſed; and Octavius, one of the tribunes who oppoſed it, was, partly by art, and partly by violence, obliged to reſign; while Mummius, who was in the oppoſite confederacy, was elected tribune in his ſtead.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furniſhed Tiberius Gracchus with a new opportunity of gratifying the meaner part of the people, at the expence of the great. This king had by his laſt will left the Romans his heirs; and it was now propoſed, that the money ſo left ſhould be divided among the poor, in order to furniſh them with proper utenſils for cultivating the lands, which became their's by the late law of partition. This cauſed ſtill greater diſturbances than before: the ſenate aſſembled upon this occaſion, in order to conſult the moſt proper methods of ſecuring theſe riches to themſelves, which they now valued above the ſafety of the commonwealth: they had numerous dependents, who were willing to give up liberty for plenty and eaſe: theſe, therefore, were commanded to be in readineſs, to intimidate the people, who expected no ſuch oppoſition; and who were attending to the harangues of Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol.

Here

Here, as a clamour was raiſed by the clients of the great on one ſide, and by the favourers of the law on the other, Tiberius found his ſpeech entirely interrupted, and begged, in vain, to be attended to till at laſt, raiſing his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partizans of the ſenate gave out, that he wanted a diadem. In conſequence of this, an uproar ſpread itſelf through all ranks of people: the corrupt part of the ſenate were of opinion, that the conſul would defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magiſtrate declining ſuch violence, Scipio Naſica, kinſman to Gracchus, immediately roſe up, and preparing himſelf for the conteſt, deſired that all who would defend the dignity and the authority of the laws, ſhould follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of ſenators and clients, armed with clubs, he went directly to the Capitol, ſtriking down all who ventured to reſiſt. Tiberius, perceiving by the tumult that his life was in danger, endeavoured to fly; and throwing aſide his robe, to expedite his eſcape, attempted to get through the throng; but happening to fall over a perſon already on the ground, Saturnius, one of the colleagues in the tribuneſhip, who was of the oppoſite faction, ſtruck him dead with a piece of a ſeat; and not leſs than three hundred of his hearers ſhared the ſame fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor

did the vengeance of the ſenate reſt here, but extended to numbers of thoſe who ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe; many of them were put to death, many were baniſhed, and nothing was omitted to inſpire the people with an abhorrence of his pretended crimes.

Theſe diſſenſions, though for ſome time interrupted by a victory gained by Ariſtonicus, baſtard brother to the late king of Pergamus, and pretender to his crown, over the Roman conſul, Licinius Craſſus, were ſoon renewed. For Ariſtonicus being overthrown by Perpenna, the conſul, and being afterwards beſieged in Stratonice, and compelled by famine to ſurrender, he was, after gracing the conqueror's triumph, ſtrangled in priſon by order of the ſenate. The reſpite that was given by this conqueſt, afforded an opportunity to the people of renewing their former animoſities, headed by Caius Gracchus, the brother of him who was ſlain.

Caius Gracchus was but twenty-one upon the death of his brother Tiberius, and, as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, ſo he was at firſt unwilling to incur their reſentment, by aims beyond his reach; he therefore lived in retirement, unſeen and almoſt forgotten. But, while he thus ſeemed deſirous of avoiding popularity, he was employing his ſolitude in the ſtudy of eloquence, which was the readieſt means to obtain it: at length when he thought

thought himſelf qualified to ſerve his country, he offered himſelf candidate for the queſtorſhip to the army in Sardinia, which he readily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in this office were remarked by all ranks of men. The king of Numidia ſending a preſent of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambaſſadors to declare that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This the ſenate treated with ſcorn, and ordered the ambaſſadors to be diſmiſſed with contempt, as ignorant barbarians; which ſo inflamed the reſentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army, to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himſelf for the tribuneſhip of the people. It was then that the great found in this youth, who had been hitherto neglected upon account of his age, a more formidable antagoniſt, than ever his brother had been; his eloquence againſt the calumnies which were laid to his charge, exceeded whatever had been heard in Rome; and his intrepidity in ſupporting his pretenſions equalled the reſt of his virtues. Notwithſtanding the warmeſt oppoſition from the ſenate, he was declared tribune, by a very large majority, and he now prepared to run the ſame career which his brother had gone before him.

His firſt effort was to have Popilius, one of the moſt inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited

cited before the people; who, rather than ſtand the event of a tryal, choſe to go into voluntary baniſhment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium; and, ſoon after, to all the people on that ſide the Alps. He afterwards fixed the price of corn to a moderate ſtandard, and procured a monthly diſtribution of it among the people. He then proceeded to an inſpection into the late corruptions of the ſenate; in which the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the ſale of offices, for at that time a total degeneracy ſeemed to have taken place, a law was enacted, transferring the power of judging corrupt magiſtrates, from the ſenate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the conſtitution. The number of theſe officers, thus placed as inſpectors over the conduct of all other magiſtrates of the ſtate, amounted to three hundred, who were choſen from among the friends of Gracchus. Thus, ever attentive to the good of the commonwealth, he ordered the highways to be improved and adorned; he cauſed publick granaries to be built, and ſtored with grain againſt times of ſcarcity; and, to give a pattern of juſtice to the people, he cauſed large quantities of corn, which Fabius, the proprætor in Spain, had extorted from his government, and had preſented as a largeſs to the people, to be ſold, and the money remitted

mitted to the injured owners. In ſhort, on whatever ſide we view the character of this great man, we ſhall find him juſt, temperate, wiſe, active, and, ſeemingly, born to reſtore the ancient ſimplicity of Rome. However, hiſtorians pretend to aſſert, that all his plans were calculated to extend his own power; and conſequently, that all his virtues were the children of his ambition. But theſe aſſertions do not ſeem verified in any of the actions of his life, which they have recorded; however, it is not for the moderns to diſpute with ancient hiſtorians upon characters of antiquity; they knew beſt the men of their own times, and perhaps have often condemned them in the groſs for defects, which they thought it not worth while to mention in the detail.

Gracchus, by theſe means, being grown not only very popular, but very powerful in the ſtate, was become an object at which the ſenate aimed all their reſentment. At firſt they ſeemed only to wait till their tribuneſhip expired, in order to wreak their vengeance with ſafety; but, contrary to their expectations, he was choſen a ſecond time to that office, though without the leaſt efforts on his ſide to get himſelf re-elected. They therefore reſolved to alter their method of proceeding, and endeavoured to oppoſe his popularity by ſetting up a rival. This was Druſus his colleague, who ſeemed to go even beyond Gracchus in every propoſal, and, being ſecretly

ſecretly encouraged by the ſenate, ſo far ſucceeded in his ſchemes, as to divide the affections of the people. The jealouſy of Gracchus on this occaſion quickly blazed out; he treated his colleague with contempt; and, as the ſenate foreſaw, it cauſed a very powerful party of his former admirers to declare againſt him. But the greateſt effort to ruin him was yet in reſerve. From the time of his return to Rome from Sardinia, he had been elected one of the triumviri; an office, which, as I have mentioned before, was appointed by his brother Tiberius, to determine the quantity of land poſſeſſed by each individual in the ſtate. In this employment Gracchus, who ſhewed himſelf extremely aſſiduous, and impreſſed with the ſame ſpirit of equality that inſpired his brother, endeavoured to regulate each man's poſſeſſions, according to the Licinian law, with inflexible juſtice. Thoſe who thought themſelves aggrieved by his ſeverity, had recourſe to Scipio Africanus for redreſs. Scipio, who had been long an enemy to this law, was too ſenſible of the people's power, to oppoſe it openly; but proceeding with more caution, obtained a new officer to be choſen, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſettle the claims of individuals amongſt each other, before thoſe of the publick could be determined by the triumviri. For this purpoſe, Tuditanus the conſul was choſen; who thus having a power of protract-

ing the wiſhed-for diviſion of lands, ſeemed to bend aſſiduouſly to the buſineſs for which he was choſen. However, when he could no longer defer the ſettlement of the lands in queſtion, he pretended to be called off to quell an inſurrection in one of the provinces, and thus left the claims and the wiſhes of the people undecided. An univerſal clamour was raiſed againſt Scipio, by whoſe arts the execution of the law was ſaid to be protracted; and one of the tribunes even cited him to appear, and give an account how Tiberius Gracchus came to be ſlain. Scipio, however, diſdained to anſwer the charge; but went home, as ſome thought, to meditate a ſpeech for the enſuing day; but in the morning was found dead in his bed, and by a mark round his neck, it appeared that he was ſtrangled. The death of this great man produced much ſuſpicion againſt the leaders of the popular party, a great part of which was directed againſt Gracchus. Nevertheleſs, he diſdained to clear himſelf from a crime, of which there were no proofs againſt him; but willing to turn the thoughts of the people another way, propoſed the re-building of Carthage, and peopling it from Rome. This ſcheme was gladly embraced by the people, and ſix thouſand families, with Gracchus at their head, left the city, in order to ſettle there. But they had ſcarce begun to clear away the rubbiſh, when

when they were diſturbed by ſeveral omens, which, to a ſuperſtitious people, was ſufficient to check the progreſs of every undertaking. In fact, much more powerful motives called Gracchus back to Rome; for his enemies, during his abſence, uſed all their art to blacken his character; ſo that he found himſelf obliged to return, in order to ſupport his party, and remove thoſe prejudices which had been formed in the minds of the people to his diſadvantage. But he ſoon found the populace a faithleſs and unſteady ſupport; they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and to place it upon Druſus, whoſe character was unimpeached. It was in vain that he deſigned new laws in their favour, and called up ſeveral of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his ſupport; the ſenate ordered them all to depart Rome, and even ſent one ſtranger to priſon, whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendſhip. To this indignity was ſhortly after added a diſgrace of a more fatal tendency; in ſtanding for the tribuneſhip a third time, he was rejected, it being ſuppoſed that the officers whoſe duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him, though fairly choſen.

The ſenate no ſooner ſaw Gracchus reduced to a private ſtation, than they determined to deſtroy him, and deputed Opimius the conſul,

who was his mortal enemy, to be the inſtrument of their malignity againſt him. The conſul, who, beſide the greateſt pride, was poſſeſſed of the utmoſt cruelty, undertook the office with great readineſs, and firſt procured thoſe laws to be annulled, which were made for eſtabliſhing a colony at Carthage. He then proceeded to abrogate all the other laws which had been made during his two tribuneſhips, and appointed a day for a general aſſembly of the people for that purpoſe.

It was now ſeen, that the fate of Gracchus was reſolved on. The conſul was not contented with the protection of all the ſenate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of ſlaves and clients, but ordered a body of Candians, who were mercenaries in the Roman ſervice, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conſcious of the ſuperiority of his forces, he inſulted Gracchus wherever he met him, doing all in his power to produce a quarrel, in conſequence of which he might have a pretence of deſpatching his enemy. Gracchus avoided all recrimination, and, as if appriſed of the conſul's deſigns, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not ſo remiſs, but reſolved to oppoſe party againſt party, and for this purpoſe brought up ſeveral countrymen to Rome, who came under a pretence of deſiring employment.

ment. When the day for determining the controverſy was arrived, the two parties, early in the morning, attended at the Capitol, where, while the conſul was ſacrificing, according to cuſtom, one of the lictors taking up the entrails of the beaſt that was ſlain, in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Fulvius and his party, "Ye factious citizens, make way for "honeſt men." This inſult ſo provoked the party to whom it was addreſſed, that they inſtantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with the inſtruments they uſed in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands. This murder cauſed a great diſturbance in the aſſembly; but particularly Gracchus, who ſaw the conſequences that were likely to enſue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies ſuch advantage over him; he made many attempts to ſpeak, but could not be heard by reaſon of the tumult; wherefore he was at laſt obliged to retire homewards, and wait the event. As he was going through the Forum, he ſtopped before a ſtatue that was raiſed to his father's memory, and, regarding it for ſome time, he burſt into a flood of tears, as if deploring the ſpirit of the times. His followers were not leſs moved than he, and all joining in pitying him, vowed never to abandon a man, whoſe only crime was his affection to his country. In the mean time, the ſenate took every

method to alarm the city, and increaſe their apprehenſions of the danger. The conſul was directed to take care that the commonwealth ſhould receive no injury; by which form they inveſted him, upon this ſlight occaſion, with abſolute and uncontrollable power. The dead lictor's corſe was carried in triumph through the ſtreets, and expoſed to view before the ſenate-houſe; while the whole body of the nobles received orders to be in arms the next day, with their ſlaves and dependents, upon Mount Aventine. On the other ſide, Flaccus was ſedulouſly employed in getting together the remains of his ſhattered partiſans; but it was not at preſent as in the former commotions of the commonwealth, when the plebeians were to be excited againſt the patricians, for thoſe diſtinctions were long broken down; it was now only an oppoſition of the poor againſt the rich; and the depreſſed party were of conſequence timorous and unconnected, as if already humbled by their imperious maſters. Gracchus, who eaſily foreſaw his weakneſs, was, however, reſolved not to abandon his friends, though he knew them to be unable to reſiſt his opponents. Notwithſtanding, he refuſed to go armed as the reſt, but taking his uſual robe, and a ſhort dagger for his defence, in caſe of being attacked, he prepared to lead his followers to Mount Aventine. It was there he learned, that proclamation had been

been made by the conſuls, that whoever ſhould bring either his head, or that of Flaccus, ſhould receive its weight in gold as a reward. It was to no purpoſe that he ſent the youngeſt ſon of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with propoſals for an ccommodation. The ſenate and the conſuls, who were ſenſible of their ſuperiority, rejected all his offers, and reſolved to puniſh his offence with nothing leſs than death; and in order to weaken his party, they offered pardon to all who ſhould leave him immediately. This produced the deſired effect; the people fell from him by degrees, and left him with very inferior forces. He now reſolved to wait upon the ſenate in perſon; but his friends would not permit him, through an apprehenſion of loſing their commander. The child of Flaccus was, therefore, ſent once more to demand peace; but Opimius, the conſul, who thirſted for ſlaughter, ordered the boy to priſon, and leading his forces up to Mount Aventine, fell in among the crowd with ungovernable fury. A terrible ſlaughter of the ſcarce reſiſting multitude enſued, and not leſs than three thouſand citizens were ſlain upon the ſpot. Flaccus attempted to find ſhelter in a ruinous cottage, but being diſcovered, was ſlain, with his eldeſt ſon. Gracchus, at firſt, retired to the temple of Diana, where he was reſolved to die by his own hand, but was prevented by two

of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Lucinius, who forced him to ſeek ſafety by flight. From thence he made the beſt of his way to croſs a bridge, that led from the city, ſtill attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian ſlave, whoſe name was Philocrates. But his purſuers preſſed upon him from behind, and when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were ſoon ſlain, defending him againſt the crowd; and he was forced to take refuge, with his ſlave, in a grove beyond the Tyber, which had long been dedicated to the Furies. Here finding himſelf ſurrounded on every ſide, and no way left of eſcaping, he prevailed upon his ſlave to kill him, who immediately after killed himſelf, and fell down upon the body of his beloved maſter. The purſuers ſoon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it as a trophy upon a ſpear. Soon after, one Septimuleius carrying it home, there, firſt having ſecretly taken out the brain, he filled it with lead, in order to make it weigh the heavier, and thus received of the conſul ſeventeen pounds of gold as his recompence.

Thus died Caius Gracchus, about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and ſix after he began to be active in the commonwealth. He is uſually impeached by hiſtorians, as guilty of ſedition;

ſedition; but from what we know of his character, the diſturbance of publick tranquillity was rather owing to his oppoſers, than to him; ſo that inſtead of calling the tumults of that time, the ſedition of the Gracchi, we ſhould rather call them the ſedition of the ſenate againſt the Gracchi, ſince the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law, to which the ſenate had aſſented, and as the deſigns of the former were ſupported by an armed power from the country, that had never before interfered in the buſineſs of legiſlation, and whoſe introduction gave a moſt irrecoverable blow to the conſtitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or of patriotiſm, in the promulgation of theſe laws, it is impoſſible to determine; but certain it is from what appears that all juſtice was on their ſide, and all injury on that of the ſenate. In fact, this body was quite changed from that venerable aſſembly which we have ſeen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as much by their virtues as their arms. They were now only to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people by their ſuperior luxuries; and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority which is gained from riches, and a number of mercenary dependencies. The venal and the baſe were attached to them from motives of ſelf intereſt; and they who ſtill ventured to be independent

pendent were borne down, and entirely loſt in the infamous majority. In ſhort, the empire, at this period, came under the government of an hateful ariſtocracy; the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themſelves, and having no longer oppoſite intereſts from thoſe of the ſenate, concurred in their oppreſſions; ſince, as has been ſaid, it was not now the ſtruggle between patricians and plebeians, who only nominally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the ſtate being by theſe means reduced to a degree of hopeleſs ſubjection, inſtead of looking after liberty, only ſought for a leader; while the rich, with all the ſuſpicion of tyrants, terrified at the ſlighteſt appearance of oppoſition, entruſted men with uncontrollable power, from whom they had not ſtrength to withdraw it, when the danger was over. Thus both parts of the ſtate concurred in giving up their freedom: the fears of the ſenate firſt made the dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in his office. Nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the protection of Auguſtus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

From the Sedition of Gracchus to the perpetual Dictatorſhip of Sylla, which was the firſt Step towards the Ruin of the Commonwealth of Rome.

WHILE the Romans were in this ſtate of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheleſs were very ſucceſsful in their tranſactions with regard to foreign powers. The ſenate, though corrupt fathers of the commonwealth, were ſkilful conductors of the empire; ſo that Rome, while ſhe was loſing liberty, was every day gaining new territories. The Balearic Iſlands were ſubdued. The Allobroges, who inhabited the country now called Savoy, were conquered by Domitius Ænobarbus, and annexed to the empire. Gallia Narbonenſis was U. C. 634. alſo reduced into a province. The Scordici, a people inhabiting Thrace, though at firſt ſucceſsful, were at laſt overcome; and Jugurtha, king of Numidia, was totally overthrown. The war of this monarch having been related by the moſt elegant hiſtorian of antiquity, makes it incumbent upon us to give it greater room in this general picture of hiſtory, than the importance of the ſubject might ſeem to demand.

Jugurtha was grandſon to the famous Maſſiniſſa, who ſided againſt Hannibal with Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, and being ſuperior in abilities to both, and greatly in favour with the people, he murdered Hiempſal, the eldeſt ſon, and attempted the ſame by Adherbal the younger, who made his eſcape, and fled to the Romans for ſuccour. Whereupon Jugurtha, being ſenſible how much avarice and injuſtice had crept into the ſenate, ſent his ambaſſadors with large preſents to Rome, who ſo ſucceſsfully prevailed, that the ſenate decreed him half the kingdom, which he had thus acquired by murder and uſurpation, and ſent ten commiſſioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commiſſioners, of whom Opimius the murderer of Gracchus was one, willing to follow the example which the ſenate had ſet them, were alſo bribed to beſtow the moſt rich and populous part of the kingdom upon the uſurper; who, notwithſtanding reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole. But finding it neceſſary to give a colour to his ambition, he only made in the beginning incurſions upon his colleague's territories, in order to provoke repriſals, which he knew how to convert into ſeeming aggreſſion, in caſe it came before the ſenate. This, however, failing, he reſolved to throw off the maſk; and beſieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, he at length got him into his power, and murdered

murdered him. The people of Rome, who had ſtill ſome generoſity remaining, unanimouſly complained of his treachery; the ſenate only, who had been bribed to ſilence, continued for a while in ſuſpence. However, a conſul was ſent, at laſt, with a powerful army, to oppoſe him; but he being alſo infected with the avarice of the times, ſuffered himſelf to be bribed; and, ſuſpending his operations made overtures for peace.

The people therefore more enraged than before, procured a decree, that Jugurtha ſhould be ſummoned in perſon before them, upon the public faith of the ſtate, in order to give an account of all ſuch as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himſelf upon the clemency of Rome, and ſoon after appeared before the people in an imploring manner, and in a dreſs correſponding with his ſituation. But, inſtead of diſcovering thoſe who were bribed, he only ſet about renewing the evil complained of; and being ſenſible that all opinions were venal at Rome, without much endeavouring to influence any by the juſtice of his cauſe, he took the more certain method of intereſting them, by the diſtribution of his riches. Wherefore, when brought to be examined by the people, concerning his unjuſt method of obtaining the protection of the magiſtrates, who were ſent to oppoſe him; Bebius, one of the tribunes, who had alſo been corrupted,

rupted, enjoined him ſilence; ſo that the long-wiſhed-for diſcovery was protracted. The people thus ſeeing no hopes of expoſing and puniſhing their corrupt magiſtrates, put no bounds to their reſentment, and conceived an implacable enmity againſt the ſenate; which, as it was juſt, was the more laſting. In the mean time, Jugurtha, being ordered to quit Rome, obeyed. However, he could not repreſs a ſarcaſm againſt its venality, as he took leave: for looking back upon the city, as he paſſed through one of the gates. "O Rome (cried he) how readily "wouldſt thou ſell thyſelf, if there were any man "rich enough to be the purchaſer!" As he came to Rome upon the faith of the ſtate, he was protected till he returned to his own dominions; but, in the mean time, Albinus, the conſul, was ſent with an army to traverſe his deſigns. The firſt operations of the Roman general were attended with ſucceſs; and Jugurtha, finding his own inability to oppoſe him in the field, endeavoured to circumvent him in the cabinet. New propoſals for peace were made on his ſide; he was every day offering himſelf up as a priſoner, and yet every day ſecuring his power in the ſtate. Albinus thus ſaw himſelf perplexed by treaties, which he could not comprehend; and the time of his command almoſt inſenſibly elapſed, without having ſtruck any important blow. Being obliged to return, to attend the election

election of magiſtrates at Rome, he left the direction of the army to Aulus, his brother, a perſon every way unequal to the command. His avarice induced him to lay ſiege to Suthul, a place almoſt impregnable by nature, and only inviting the enemy, becauſe it contained the treaſure of the king. Jugurtha, conſcious of the ſtrength of the place, ſuffered Aulus to amuſe himſelf before it; and, at one time pretending fear; at another, offering terms of accommodation; but ſtill laviſhing his bribes even to the meaneſt centurion, he led his antagoniſt into ſuch ſtraits, that he was compelled to hazard a battle upon diſadvantageous terms; and his whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to paſs under the yoke.

In this condition, Metellus, the ſucceeding conſul, found affairs upon his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence; an army without diſcipline; and an enemy ever watchful, and ever intriguing. However, by his great attention to buſineſs, and by an integrity that ſhuddered at corruption, he ſoon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the ſpace of two years, Jugurtha was overthrown in ſeveral battles, forced from his own dominions, and conſtrained to beg a peace. This Metellus offered to grant, upon condition that he ſhould firſt deliver up his elephants and arms. With this the Numidian prince complied,

complied, and they were delivered up accordingly. He was then commanded to pay two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, to defray the expences of the war: this was immediately paid down. The deſerters were next ordered to be given up: this too was complied with. At length, the Roman general inſiſted, that Jugurtha ſhould ſurrender his perſon, and put himſelf upon his trial at Rome. With this he refuſed to comply; and thus the treaty being broken, both ſides reſolved once more to attempt the hazards of the war. All things, however, promiſed Metellus an eaſy and a certain victory; the enemy was almoſt entirely ſubdued; few cities remaining that could make reſiſtance, and all the wiles of the Numidian were exhauſted with his treaſures. It only remained, that Metellus ſhould be choſen conſul once more, to conclude the war triumphantly; but in this he was diſappointed, and another general reaped the harveſt of glory which his induſtry had ſown. This was Caius Marius, who had been ſent with him as his lieutenant in the war; a commander who became afterwards the glory and the ſcourge of Rome. He was born in a village near Arpinium, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour; and as he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was frightful. He was a man of

of extraordinary ſtature, incomparable ſtrength, and undaunted bravery. He entered early into the ſervice of his country, and was, from the beginning, remarkable for his exact obſervance of diſcipline, and his implicit obedience to thoſe in command. He ſought, upon every occaſion, dangers equal to his courage; the longeſt marches, and the moſt painful fatigues of war, were eaſy to one bred up in penury and labour. He was not more averſe to the allurements of pleaſure, from habit, than from nature. He took all occaſions to inſpire temperance by his example; eat the ſame bread which was diſtributed to the meaneſt ſentinel; lay upon the ground, dreſſed in the coarſeſt garments, and ſeemed dead to every other paſſion but thoſe of ambition and revenge. He had already paſſed through the meaner gradations of office, and each ſeemed conferred upon him as the reward of ſome ſignal exploit. When he ſtood for the office of military tribune, though his perſon was unknown, his actions were familiar to the multitude. When elected to that charge, his general found his merit and aſſiſtance ſo great, that he ſeconded him with his intereſt, in procuring him to be made a tribune of the people. It was in this ſtation that his ambition began to appear, and his deteſtation of the ſenate, whoſe vices, indeed, deſerved his reproaches, became conſpicuous.

Not to be intimidated by their threats, he boldly arraigned their corruption, even in the ſenate-houſe; and when Metellus, who till then had patroniſed and raiſed him, diſapproved his zeal, he even threatened to commit him to priſon. Nevertheleſs, being afterwards ſent under him as his lieutenant into Numidia, Metellus preferred the intereſt of his country to private reſentment, and truſted Marius with the moſt important concerns of the war. This confidence was not miſplaced; Marius acquitted himſelf in every action with ſuch prudence and reſolution, that he was conſidered at Rome as ſecond in command, but firſt in experience and reſolution. It was in this ſituation of affairs, that Metellus, as has been ſaid, was obliged to ſollicit at Rome for a continuation of his command; but Marius, whoſe ambition knew no bounds, was reſolved to obtain it for himſelf, and thus acquire the glory of putting an end to the war. To that end he privately inveighed againſt Metellus by his emiſſaries at Rome. He inſinuated among the people, that the war was prolonged, only to lengthen the conſul's command; and aſſerted, that he was able, with half the army, to make Jugurtha a priſoner; engaging alſo, in a ſingle campaign, to bring him dead or alive to Rome. By ſuch profeſſions as theſe, having excited a ſpirit of diſcontent againſt Metellus, he had leave granted him to go to Rome, to ſtand for the conſulſhip, which

which he obtained, contrary to the expectation and intereſt of the nobles.

Marius being thus inveſted with the ſupreme power of managing the war, ſhewed himſelf every way fit for the commiſſion. His vigilance was equal to his valour. and he quickly made himſelf maſter of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince, finding himſelf unable to make oppoſition ſingly, was obliged to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to whoſe daughter he was married. A battle ſoon after enſued, in which the Numidians ſurpriſed the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However, it was but of ſhort continuance; for Marius ſoon after overthrew them in two ſignal engagements, in one of which not leſs than ninety thouſand of the African army were ſlain. Bocchus now finding the Romans too powerful to be reſiſted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown, to protect that of his ally; he therefore determined to make peace, upon whatever conditions he might obtain it; and accordingly ſent to Rome, imploring its protection and friendſhip. The ſenate received the ambaſſadors with their uſual haughtineſs, and, without complying with their requeſt, granted the ſuppliants, not their friendſhip, but their pardon. Notwithſtanding, after ſome time, they were given to underſtand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Ro-

mans, would, in ſome meaſure, conciliate their favour, and ſoften their reſentment. At firſt, the pride of Bocchus ſtruggled againſt ſuch a propoſal; but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæſtor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous meaſure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up; being drawn into an ambuſcade, by the ſpecious pretences of his ally, who deluded him by deſiring a conference, he was made a priſoner, and carried, by Marius, to Rome, loaded with chains, a deplorable inſtance of blaſted ambition. He did not long ſurvive his overthrow, being condemned by the ſenate to be ſtarved to death in priſon, a ſhort time after he had adorned the triumph of the conqueror. His cruelty, in ſome meaſure, deſerved this fate; but they muſt be doubly cruel, who could oblige a priſoner, whom they reſolved to put to death, to increaſe the ſplendour of a proceſſion, and thus to take a delight in his diſtreſſes.

This victory over Jugurtha had been ſcarce obtained, when news was brought to Rome, that an incredible number of barbarians from the north, were pouring down into the Roman dominions, and were threatening Italy with ſlaughter and deſolation. Marius was looked upon as the only perſon who could oppoſe them, and was accordingly made conſul a ſecond time, contrary to the conſtitutions of the ſtate, which required an interval of ten years between

between each conſulſhip. The people he was to oppoſe were the Cimbri and Teutones, who had left their foreſts, to the number of three hundred thouſand men, in order to ſeek new habitations in the fruitful valleys of Italy. They had, ſome time before, invaded Gaul, where they committed great ravages, and defeated ſeveral Roman armies that were ſent againſt them. Marius, however, was completely ſucceſsful. He declined fighting, till their force was weakened by delay; but afterwards engaging them as they were paſſing the Alps, in three ſeparate bodies, U. C. 650.
a bloody battle enſued, which laſted two days. In this the Romans were victorious, and Theutobocchus, the king of the Teutones, taken priſoner, with the loſs of an hundred and fifty thouſand men. But, notwithſtanding the Teutones were thus defeated, the army of the U. C. 653.
Cimbri remained entire, and had actually paſſed the Alps, after having put Catulus, the Roman conſul, to flight. Marius, however, being made conſul a fifth time (for the people had continued him in office during the part of the war) gave them a dreadful overthrow. An hundred and forty thouſand of theſe barbarians were ſlain, and ſixty thouſand taken priſoners. Their wives, during the engagement, fought furiouſly in chariots, by the ſides of their huſbands; and, at laſt, when they ſaw the fortune of the field decided, ſlew their

children; and then, with desperate intrepidity, destroyed each other.

Marius, by these victories, having become very formidable to distant nations in war, became soon after much more dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace. Metellus, from being his first patron and promoter, was long grown hateful to him, for his superior influence in the senate; so that he earnestly wished to have him banished from Rome. To effect this, he employed one Saturninus, who had unjustly possessed himself of the tribuneship, to prefer a law for the partition of such lands as had been recovered in the late war, and to oblige the senators to take a solemn oath for putting it into execution, in case it was passed. The law was soon enacted, by the interest of Marius; but when the senate came to confirm the observance of it, Metellus, who considered it as a renewal of the ancient disturbances that had been so fatal to the constitution, endeavoured to persuade them to reject the measure with disdain. At first they seemed inclined to follow his advice: but the influence of his rival being superior, they resolved to confirm it; but Metellus, refusing, was obliged to go into voluntary exile. He was received with great respect by all the cities thro' which he passed; and taking up his residence in the island of Rhodes, he there seemed to forget that he was great, and only studied to be happy.

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This ſucceſs only ſerved to increaſe the arrogance of Saturninus. Being made a tribune a third time, he filled the city with clamour and commotion. Memmius, who was of the oppoſite party, was killed in one of theſe frays, as he canvaſſed for the conſulſhip; and Glaucius, the prætor, was tumultuouſly choſen in his ſtead. This ſeemed as a ſignal for a general encounter. The ſenate were reſolved to curb the inſolence of the tribunes; the conſuls were ordered, as in dangerous times, to provide for the ſafety of the commonwealth; and Marius, who was one of them, found himſelf in the diſagreeable ſituation of heading a ſtrong body of the ſenators and patricians, againſt thoſe very people whom his own intrigues had put into commotion. Saturninus and his followers were forced into the Capitol, where, for want of water, they were compelled to yield, after Marius had paſſed his word for their ſafety. But he was now unable to protect them; a large body of Roman knights broke into the Forum, and cut them to pieces, while the prevailing party, elate with their ſucceſs, recalled Metellus from exile.

Marius being thus doubly mortified by the demolition of his party, and the reſtoration of his rival, left Rome, under pretence of performing a vow; but in reality, with hopes of kindling up new wars in Aſia, where only his military talents could have room for exer-

tion. With this view, he went to the court of Mithridates, at that time the moſt powerful monarch of the Eaſt, hoping either to be diſmiſſed with ſcorn, or received with hoſpitality. In either caſe he expected to find his account; if diſmiſſed, Marius would have a colour for declaring war againſt him; if received, he would be in a better condition to judge of the ſtrength of his enemy. Mithridates received him with great kindneſs, and diſmiſſed him, laden with preſents, to Rome.

In the mean time, the ſtrength which Marius had given the popular party, was not to be deſtroyed by a ſingle blow: Druſus, the tribune, whom we have ſeen oppoſing the popularity of Gracchus, ſeemed now determined to purſue his example. This man, finding the ſenators diſpleaſed with the judicial power which had been conſigned over to the knights, and perceiving the latter alſo making a very tyrannical uſe of their authority, conceived a deſign of conciliating both, by reſtoring the ſenate to its ancient privileges, and raiſing a large number of the equeſtrian order to that dignity. However, what he expected would pleaſe both, was diſliked by all: the ſenate was againſt having their number enlarged; the knights were averſe to loſing their privileges; and the people were diſpleaſed at having the law of Gracchus brought into diſpute. In order therefore to

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gain that popularity which he found he had loſt by this meaſure, he again threatened the great with the revival of the Licinian law; and that the allies and confederates of Italy, who were the preſent poſſeſſors, might ſhare an equivalent to what this law was likely to deprive them of, he gave them hopes of being admitted to the freedom of Rome. Theſe promiſes did not fail to produce their effect; the Latin towns began to look upon him as their protector, and came in crowds to the city, to ſupport him. Great contentions aroſe in conſequence of his endeavours. Deliberation had been long baniſhed from the aſſemblies of the people; the whole of their laws were enacted or rejected by clamour, violence, and ſedition. On one of theſe occaſions, Druſus being warmly engaged in promoting the law for enlarging the freedom of the city, was ſtabbed by an unknown perſon, who left his poignard in the wound: Druſus had juſt ſtrength enough to avow with his dying breath, the integrity of his intentions; and that there was no man in the commonwealth more ſincerely attached to its intereſts.

The Italians being thus fruſtrated in their attempt to gain the freedom of Rome, by the death of Druſus, reſolved upon obtaining by force, what the ſenate ſeemed to refuſe them as a favour. This gave riſe to the Social war, in

in which moſt of the ſtates of Italy entered into a confederacy againſt Rome, in order to obtain a redreſs of this, and all the reſt of their grievances. Meſſengers and hoſtages were privately ſent and interchanged amongſt them; and upon having their claims rejected by the ſenate, they ſoon broke out into open rebellion. The ſtate now ſaw an hundred thouſand of its ſoldiers converted againſt itſelf, led on by excellent commanders, and diſciplined in the Roman manner. To oppoſe theſe, an equal body was raiſed by the ſenate, and the conduct of the war committed to the conſuls, together with Marius, Sylla, and the moſt experienced generals of the time. The war commenced with great animoſity on either ſide, but the Romans ſeemed to have the diſadvantage in the beginning. Rutilius, the conſul, fell into an ambuſcade, and was ſlain. His body being carried into the city, ſo diſcouraged the people, that the ſenate decreed, that thenceforward the bodies of the ſlain ſhould be buried where they fell. Upon this defeat, the army which he conducted was given to Marius, who rather might be ſaid, not to forfeit his ancient fame, than to acquire new reputation by his conduct during the preſent command.

After a lapſe of two years, this war having continued to rage with doubtful ſucceſs, the ſenate began to reflect, that, whether conquered

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or conquerors, the power of the Romans was in danger of being totally deſtroyed. In order therefore to ſoften their compliance by degrees, they gave the freedom of the city to ſuch of the Italian ſtates as had not revolted. They then offered it to ſuch as would ſooneſt lay down their arms. This unexpected bounty had the deſired effect; the allies, with mutual diſtruſt, offered to treat ſeparately: the ſenate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in ſuch a manner, that, not being empowered to vote until all the other tribes had given their ſuffrages, they had very little weight in the conſtitution. In this manner all were made free, but the Samnites and Lucanians, who ſeemed excluded from the general compromiſe, as if to leave Sylla, who commanded againſt them, the glory of putting an end to the war: this he performed with great conduct, ſtorming their camps, overthrowing them in ſeveral battles, and obliging them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the ſenate were pleaſed to impoſe.

This deſtructive war being concluded, which, as Paterculus ſays, conſumed above three hundred thouſand of the flower of Italy, the ſenate began to think of turning their arms againſt Mithridates, the moſt powerful and warlike monarch of the Eaſt. This prince, whoſe dominions were chiefly compoſed of the

provinces he had conquered, was maſter of Cappadocia, Bithynia, Thrace, Macedon, and all Greece. He was able to bring two hundred and fifty thouſand infantry into the field, and fifty thouſand horſe. He had a vaſt number of armed chariots; and, in his ports, four hundred ſhips of war. Such power, joined to ſo great riches, ſerved only the more to invite the ambition of Rome; they but deſired a pretence for a war, and that was not long wanting. The pretexts were, his having invaded and overcome many ſtates that were in alliance with, and under the protection of Rome: his having procured Tigranes, king of Armenia, to declare war againſt the Romans; together with his continually upbraiding the Roman ſtate with avarice and corruption. Such were the motives that induced them to declare war againſt this king: it only remained to chooſe a general, properly qualified to conduct the expedition

Marius was the moſt experienced commander, and ardently wiſhed to go: but Sylla was juſt choſen conſul, and had obtained this dignity, as a recompence for his ſervices in the Social war: his fame therefore began to equal that of Marius, and he was with general conſent appointed to conduct the Aſiatick war. This general, who now began to take the lead in the commonwealth, was born of a patrician family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Rome: his

his perſon was elegant, his air noble, his maners eaſy, and apparently ſincere: he loved pleaſure; but glory ſtill more; his duty frequently commanded him from ſenſual delights, which, however, he never declined, when he could enjoy them with ſafety: he deſired to pleaſe all the world: for which purpoſe he talked of himſelf with modeſty, and of every body elſe with the higheſt commendations: he was liberal, and even prevented thoſe requeſts which modeſty heſitated to make: while, at the ſame time, he ſtooped even to an acquaintance with the meaneſt ſoldiers, whoſe manners he ſometimes imitated, to gain their affections. In ſhort, he was a Proteus, who could adapt himſelf to the inclinations, purſuits, follies, or wiſdom of thoſe he converſed with, while he had no character of his own, except that of being a complete diſſembler. His firſt riſe was to be quæſtor, or treaſurer, of the army under Marius in Numidia; where by courage and dexterity, he contributed greatly to obtain thoſe advantages which enſued, and it was he particularly, who perſuaded Bocchus to give up Jugurtha. He was afterwards choſen proconſul in the Social war, where his actions entirely eclipſed thoſe of every other commander; and he was in conſequence of them, now appointed to the government of Aſia Minor; a poſt which, as it promiſed a great harveſt

harveſt of glory and riches, was earneſtly ſought after by Marius.

There were two incentives to the jealouſy of Marius, at finding Sylla preferred to conduct this war: the honours which were likely to be obtained there, and the former pains he had taken to prepare himſelf for that expedition. He therefore began to conſider this preference as an unjuſt partiality in favour of his rival, and a tacit inſult upon all his former victories. He could not help thinking, that his reputation intitled him to the firſt offer in all the employments of the ſtate, and he concluded upon depriving Sylla of his new command. To this end, he attached to his intereſt, one Sulpicius, a tribune of the people, but chiefly noted for his enmity to Sylla; a man equally eloquent and bold, of great riches but corrupt manners, and rather dreaded than eſteemed by the people. The firſt effect of the conjunction of theſe ambitious men, was to gain over the Italian towns to their party; and for this purpoſe they preferred a law, that theſe ſhould vote, not in the rear of the other tribes, but that they ſhould be indiſcriminately poſſeſſed of all the ſame advantages. This law was as warmly oppoſed by the citizens of Rome, as it was reſolutely defended by Marius and Sulpicius, and the ſtates of Italy. A tumult enſued, as uſual, in which many were ſlain on both ſides. This

commotion

commotion was ſcarcely appeaſed, when another aſſembly of the people was propoſed, for paſſing the law, contrary to the command of the conſuls. This produced a more violent uproar than even the former, in which Sylla's ſon-in-law, who attempted to oppoſe the law, was ſlain: nor was Sylla himſelf in leſs danger; for being purſued by the multitude, he was at laſt obliged to take refuge in the houſe of his enemy Marius, who, though naturally vindictive, would not break the laws of hoſpitality, which were ſtill reverenced in Rome. Having thus found means of eſcaping their fury, and finding the oppoſite faction prevail, he inſtantly quitted Rome, and went to the army he had commanded during the Social war; and which was appointed to go under him upon the expedition into Aſia. In the mean time, Marius and Sulpicius drove the ſcheme forward without any oppoſition; the law for giving the Italians a full participation of the freedom of the city, paſſed without oppoſition; and by the ſame law it was enacted, that the command of the army appointed to oppoſe Mithridates, was to be tranſferred from Sylla to Marius.

In conſequence of this, Marius immediately ſent down officers from Rome, to take the command in his name. But Sylla, as mentioned above, had prediſpoſed the army in his own favour. They were troops with whom he had gained

gained ſignal victories, and were entirely devoted to his command. Inſtead, therefore, of obeying the orders of Marius, they ſlew the officers, and then intreated their general that he would lead them directly to take ſignal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome. In the mean time, Marius being informed of this, was not ſlow in making repriſals upon ſuch of Sylla's friends as fell into his hands in the city. This produced new murmurs in Sylla's camp; the army inſiſted upon being led to the capital, and their general, who was naturally vindictive, at length determined to comply.

Sylla's army amounted to ſix legions, the ſoldiers of which ſeemed animated with the reſentment of their leader, and breathed nothing but ſlaughter and revenge. However there were a few yet remaining among them, who even in this time of general corruption, could not think of turning their arms upon their native city, but quitted the camp and fled. Thus a ſtrange migration of different parties was ſeen, ſome flying from Rome to avoid the reſentment of Marius, and others deſerting from the camp, not to be accomplices in the guilt of Sylla. Nevertheleſs the army continued to advance ſtill towards Rome; it was to no purpoſe, that the prætors went out from the city in form, to retard it; the ſoldiers broke the enſigns of

of their office, and tore their purple robes with deriſion. The ſenate next ſent deputies to command the army not to advance within five miles of the city. The deputies were for ſome time amuſed by Sylla; but they ſeemed ſcarce returned to give an account of their commiſſion, when he arrived with all his forces at the gates of Rome. His ſoldiers entered the city ſword in hand, as into a place taken by ſtorm. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partizans, attempted to oppoſe the enterance of the army; and the citizens, who feared the ſackage of the place, threw down ſtones and tiles from the tops of the houſes upon the intruders. So unequal a conflict laſted longer than could have been expected; but at length, Marius and his party were obliged to ſeek ſafety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to all the ſlaves who ſhould aſſiſt them in this emergency.

Sylla finding himſelf maſter of the city, placed bodies of ſoldiers in different parts, to prevent pillage and diſorder. He even puniſhed ſome ſeverely for entering houſes by force, and ſpent the night in viſiting their quarters, and reſtraining their impetuoſity. The next morning he began, by modelling the laws ſo as to favour his outrages. Theſe had long loſt their force in the commonwealth, and were now moulded into whatever form the ſtrongeſt

party was pleaſed they ſhould aſſume. He therefore reſerved all the decrees which had been paſſed by Sulpicius; and enacted, that no law ſhould be propoſed for the future, but what was previouſly approved by the ſenate: that the ſuffrages ſhould be given by claſſes, in which the patricians were ſure of a majority; and not by tribes, in which, every man having an equal voice, the influence of the greatwas totally annihilated. To theſe he added a decree, whereby Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other leading men, were declared enemies to their country, and by which it was lawful for any perſon to kill them. Having brought the laws to ſecond his ambition, he cauſed the goods of the proſcribed to be confiſcated, and then ſent troops into all parts to apprehend them. Marius eſcaped, but Sulpicius was found in the marſhes of Laurentium; and his head being cut off, was fixed upon the roſtrum at Rome. Sylla having thus, as he ſuppoſed, entirely reſtored peace to the city, departed upon his expedition againſt Mithridates, hoping to give new vigour to his deſigns, by the wealth and honours which he expected to reap in the Eaſt.

But while Sylla was eſtabliſhing his party againſt Marius, he had been inattentive to a very formidable opponent, who was daily growing into popularity and power at Rome. This

was

was Cornelius Cinna, who was born of a patrician family, but ſtrongly attached to the people from motives of ambition. He was a man eager after glory, but incapable of patiently expecting its regular approach: raſh, hot, and obſtinate, but, at the ſame time, bold and courageous; he was ambitious to become the leader of the people, as he could not direct the ſenate. He therefore offered himſelf for the conſulſhip, in oppoſition to the intereſts of Sylla; and either from that general's inattention to one he deſpiſed, or, from Cinna's great favour with the lower part of the people, he obtained it.

Soon after Cinna was inveſted with his new dignity, his enmity broke forth: he boaſted, that he would annul all the laws which had been lately made in favour of the patricians, and accordingly began by endeavouring to attach the Italians firmly to his intereſt. This was only to be effected, by giving them an equal participation in the freedom of the city, of which Sylla had lately deprived them. He, therefore, ſent private emiſſaries among the country ſtates, deſiring their attendance at Rome upon a certain day, and enjoining them alſo to carry ſwords under their robes. Thus, when he had prepared a party to ſupport his pretenſions, he publickly propoſed the law for ſuppreſſing the new Italian tribes, aad for giving them equal privileges with the reſt, by uniting them with

thoſe formerly eſtabliſhed. To propoſe a law at this time, was, in ſome meaſure, to declare a war. An engagement enſued, in which the Italians, being previouſly armed, were victorious for a while; but Octavius, the other conſul, coming with a powerful body of Sylla's friends to oppoſe them, ſoon turned the fortune of the day, and obliged the Italians to quit the city.

Cinna being thus defeated in his purpoſe of paſſing the law, had, notwithſtanding, the pleaſure of finding all the ſtates of Italy ſtrongly united in his favour; whereupon, leaving Rome, he went from city to city, declaring againſt the tyranny of the great, and their injuſtice to the allies, by whoſe aſſiſtance they had become ſo powerful: he allured them with hopes of equal privileges with the Romans, and excited their pity tow ards himſelf, whoſe ſufferings had been incurred in conſequence of his aſſiduity in their cauſe. Having thus induced them to a general inſurrection, he began to make levies both of troops and money. In this manner a powerful army was ſoon raiſed; and Cinna, as being conſul of Rome, without oppoſition, was placed at its head. In the mean time, the ſenate, who were appriſed of thoſe violent proceedings, went through the forms of juſtice againſt him. Being ſummoned to take his trial, and not appearing, he was degraded from his rank

rank as a citizen; deprived of his office of conſul, and Lucius Merula, prieſt of Jupiter, elected in his ſtead. But ſuch indignities only ſerved to increaſe his diligence and animoſity. He appeared before a body of the Roman forces, that were encamped at Capua, in an humble imploring manner, without any of the enſigns of his office. He entreated them with tears and proteſtations, not to ſuffer the people of Rome to fall a ſacrifice to the tyranny of the great: he invoked the gods who puniſhed injuſtice, to judge of the rectitude of his intentions; and ſo far prevailed upon the ſoldiers, that they unanimouſly reſolved to ſupport his cauſe. The whole army agreed to nominate him conſul, and, contrary to the decree of the ſenate, inveſted him with the enſigns of his office; then taking the oaths of allegiance, they determined to follow him to Rome. Thus he ſaw his ſtrength increaſing every day; ſeveral of the ſenators, who were wavering before, now came over to his ſide; but, what was equal to an army in itſelf, tidings were brought, that Marius, eſcaping from a thouſand perils, was with his ſon upon the road to join him.

We have already ſeen this formidable general driven out of Rome, and declared a publick enemy: we have ſeen him, at the age of ſeventy, after numberleſs victories, and ſix conſulſhips,

obliged to fly, unattended and on foot, from the numerous purſuits of thoſe who ſought his life. After having wandered for ſome time in this deplorable condition, he found his dangers increaſe every day, and his purſuers making nearer advances. In this diſtreſs he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the marſhes of Minturnum, where he ſpent the night in a quagmire. At break of day he left this diſmal place, and made towards the ſea-ſide, in hopes of finding a ſhip to facilitate his eſcape; but being known and diſcovered by ſome of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town with a halter round his neck, and, while ſtill covered over with mud, ſent to priſon.

The governour of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the ſenate, ſoon after ſent a Cimbrian ſlave to diſpatch him; but the barbarian no ſooner entered the dungeon for this purpoſe, but he ſtopped ſhort, intimidated by the dreadful viſage and aweful voice of this fallen general, who ſternly demanded, If he had the preſumption to kill Caius Marius? The ſlave, unable to reply, threw down his ſword, and, ruſhing back from the priſon, cried out, That he found it impoſſible to kill him! The governor, conſidering the fear of the ſlave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave him once more his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune,

tune, provided him with a ſhip to convey him from Italy. He from thence made the beſt of his way to the iſland of Ænaria, and ſailing onward, was forced by a tempeſt upon the coaſt of Sicily. A Roman quæſtor, who happened to be at the ſame place, reſolved to ſeize him; by which he loſt ſixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat to the ſhip. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went in a melancholy manner, to place himſelf among the ruins of that deſolated place. He ſoon, however, had orders from the prætor, who governed there, to retire. Marius, who remembered his having once ſerved this man, when in neceſſity, could not ſuppreſs his ſorrow, at finding ingratitude in every quarter of the world; and preparing to obey, deſired the meſſenger to tell his maſter, That he had ſeen Marius ſitting among the ruins of Carthage, intimating the greatneſs of his own fall, by the deſolation that was round him. He then embarked once more, and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, ſpent the winter at ſea, expecting every hour the return of a meſſenger from his ſon, whom he had ſent to ſollicit protection from an African prince, whoſe name was Mandraſtal. After long expectation, inſtead of the meſſenger, his ſon arrived, having eſcaped from the inhoſpitable court of that

monarch, where he had been kept, not as a friend, but as a priſoner, and had returned juſt time enough to prevent his father from ſharing the ſame fate. It was in this ſituation, that they were informed of the activity of Cinna in their favour, and accordingly made the beſt of their way to join him.

Cinna, upon being apprized of their approach, ſent his lictors, with all other marks of diſtinction, to receive them; but Marius would not accept of theſe inſtances of reſpect: he ſent them back, as being ill ſuited to his abject ſituation, and affected to appear in the wretched habit which he had worn in his misfortunes. His beard was long and neglected, his pace ſlow and ſolemn, and all his actions ſhewed a mind ſtrongly influenced by reſentment, and meditating revenge: he therefere went among the towns, exciting them to eſpouſe his quarrel, which he taught them to believe was their own. Five hundred of the principal citizens of Rome went to congratulate his return; a conſiderable number of veterans, who had fought under his ſtandard, came to offer him their ſervice; and, to increaſe his forces ſtill more, he proclaimed freedom to all ſlaves who ſhould join him; by which means great crowds flocked to him from every quarter. His firſt operation was to take the city of Oſtia by ſtorm; he then advanced with his whole army, and poſted himſelf

ſelf upon the Janiculum, a hill that overlooked Rome, where he was joined by Cinna, with an army as numerous as his own; and both reſolved to lay ſiege to their native city.

The ſenate and conſuls were now driven almoſt to deſpair; it was too late to ſend to Sylla, who was gaining victories in Aſia, while his party was upon the brink of ruin at home. Cneius Pompeius commanded an army near Rome; but his actions were ſo equivocal, that neither ſide could rely upon him, whom they both equally feared. They ſent to Metellus, then lying with a body of troops among the Samnites; but his ſoldiers, inſtead of granting them any aid, ſoon after joined Marius. Thus deſerted by all, they daily ſaw the towns about the city taken and plundered, and great numbers of ſlaves every hour deſerting to the enemy. In this exigence, they had no other reſource but ſubmiſſion: they accordingly reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors to the two generals, aſſuring them of their ready attachment, and deſiring them to enter the city peaceably, and to ſpare their own countrymen. Cinna, however refuſed to grant any audience, till he knew in what manner he was to be addreſſed; whether as a private man, or as a conſul and firſt officer of the ſtate. This, for a while, created ſome embarraſſment; but it was vain to deliberate, when ſubmiſſion was the only choice. Cinna

being reſtored to the conſulſhip, received the ambaſſadors of the ſenate in form, who invited him into the city, and requeſted him to undertake the duties of his office; they entreated him to regard his countrymen with tenderneſs, and endeavoured to obtain from him an oath, that he would put no man to death, but after a legal manner, and conformably to the ancient uſages of Rome. Cinna refuſed the oath, but promiſed, that he would not willingly be the cauſe of any man's death. During this conference, Marius continued ſtanding by the conſul's tribunal, obſerving a profound ſilence; but his furious air, and eyes glancing with fire, were but too ſure preſages of the carnage he meditated.

The conference being ended, Cinna and Marius preſented themſelves at the gates of the city, at the head of their troops: Cinna marched in firſt, accompanied by his guards; but Marius ſtopped, and refuſed to enter, alledging, that, having been baniſhed by a publick decree, it was neceſſary to have another to authoriſe his return. It was thus that he deſired to give his meditated cruelties the appearance of juſtice; and, while he was about to deſtroy thouſands, to pretend an implicit veneration for the laws. In purſuance of his deſire, an aſſembly of the people being called, they began to reverſe his baniſhment; but they had ſcarce gone through three

three of the tribes, when, incapable of containing his desire of revenge, he entered the city at the head of his guards, and massacred all who had been obnoxious to him, without remorse or pity. Octavius, the consul, was assassinated in his chair of office; Merula, who had been his colleague in the room of Cinna, killed himself, to avoid falling by the enemy; Caius and Lucius Julius, Serranus, Lentulus, Numitorius, and Bebius, all senators of the first rank, were butchered in the streets, their heads placed upon the rostrum, and their bodies given to be devoured by dogs; many more shared the same fate; the blood-hounds of Marius, breathing slaughter and vengeance, stabbed fathers of families in their own houses; violated the chastity of matrons; and carried away their children by force. Several who sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were murdered by his command in his presence; many of those who had never offended him were put to death; and, at last, even his own officers never approached him but with terror. Having in this manner punished his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival, and then created himself consul with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition, having once saved his country, and now deluged it with blood, at last, as if willing to crown the pile of slaughter

which

which he had made, with his own body, he died the month after, aged ſeventy, not without ſuſpicion of having haſtened his end.

In the mean time, theſe accounts were brought to Sylla, who was ſent againſt Mithridates, and who was performing many ſignal ſervices againſt him. That monarch having cauſed an hundred and fifty thouſand Romans, who were in his dominions, to be ſlain in cold blood, next ſent his general Archelaus to oppoſe Sylla; however, he was defeated near Athens with the loſs of an incredible number of his forces. Another battle enſued, by which the Roman general recovered all the countries that had been uſurped by Mithridates, and the loſs of the king's fleet followed ſoon after: ſo that both parties were now inclined to an accommodation; Mithridates, induced by his loſſes; and Sylla, by a deſire of returning home, to take vengeance on his enemies in Rome. A peace was accordingly ſoon after concluded, the principal articles of which were, that Mithridates ſhould defray the charges of the war; and ſhould be content with his own hereditary dominions. Thus having, in leſs than three years, brought the Aſiatic war to an honourable period, Sylla prepared for his return; previouſly informing the ſenate by letter, of all the great ſervices he had done the ſtate; and the ungrateful return he had received, from ſuch as envied

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his

his fortune; adding a dreadful menace, that he would ſoon be at the gates of Rome with a victorious and powerful army, to take ſignal vengeance upon his own enemies, and thoſe of the ſtate. The ſenate, who were now to be conſidered rather as a party formed by Marius, than as the independent protectors of Rome, greatly dreaded the effects of Sylla's return: they already anticipated the ſlaughters he was about to make, and therefore ſent to treat with him; offering to comply with whatever terms he ſhould propoſe, provided he let them know the limits of his reſentment. They even ordered Cinna, who, as we have obſerved before had been elected conſul with Marius, to diſcontinue his levies, and join with them in deprecating Sylla's anger by timely ſubmiſſion.

Cinna, however, knew how little mercy he had to expect from his opponent; and, inſtead of obeying the ſenate, returned them an evaſive anſwer; but in the mean time, proceeded to raiſe forces, and to oppoſe Sylla even in Aſia; by ſending an army thither, under pretence, that what was acted againſt Mithridates hitherto, was againſt the conſent, and without the authority of the ſenate. For this purpoſe he diſpatched a body of forces under the command of Valerius Flaccus, his colleague in the conſulſhip, into Aſia. But, as this leader was unexperienced in the field, Fimbria, an old ſoldier

of

of reputation, was ſent as his lieutenant, with directions to correct by his experience, the too great impetuoſity of the general. They ſoon, however, began to differ; and the breach widening every day, the conſul thought proper to depoſe Fimbria from his command. But all confidence and order was now loſt in the military, as well as in the civil, departments of the ſtate. Fimbria, inſtead of ſubmitting to his ſuperior, brought his cauſe before the army: a general mutiny enſued; the conſul attempted to eſcape; but, being diſcovered at the bottom of a well, was dragged out, and murdered by his own ſoldiers. In the mean time, Fimbria taking the command of the army, led it againſt Mithridates, over whom he gained a ſignal victory; and might have completed his triumph over that monarch, but that the ſame diſobedience which he was guilty of to his own commander, was practiſed by his ſoldiers againſt himſelf; for ſhortly after, at Sylla's approach, his troops all deſerted to join their fellow-citizens in the other army; ſo that Fimbria, being thus left alone, fled to the temple of Æſculapius, in Pergamus, where he fell upon his ſword; but the wound not proving mortal, his ſlave diſpatched him, killing himſelf upon the body of his maſter.

In the mean time, the ill ſucceſs of this army did not intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo,

Carbo, now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been ſlain, together with young Marius, who inherited the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to ſend over part of the forces he had raiſed into Dalmatia, to oppoſe Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but theſe being diſperſed by a ſtorm, the reſt, who had not yet put to ſea, abſolutely refuſed to go. Upon this Cinna, quite furious at their diſobedience, ruſhed forward to purſuade them to their duty. In the mean time, one of the moſt mutinous of the ſoldiers being ſtruck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed ſeverity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna endeavoured to prevent or appeaſe it he was run through the body by one of the crowd. The army being thus deprived of their principal leader, continued under Carbo, who kept himſelf conſul, without a colleague, for ſome time. The next year's conſuls being Urbanus and Scipio, new levies were made, and the affairs of the party ſeemed to wear a very favourable aſpect. It was not doubted, but Sylla would take ſignal vengeance for his late injuries, and uſe his influence to ſuppreſs the late popular laws, enacted in his abſence: all the lower part of the citizens therefore, and the majority of the ſenate, were againſt him;

him; the one from principles of democracy; the other through fear. Thus a great concourſe of people came from different parts of Italy, to ſupport the conſuls who ſoon ſaw themſelves at the head of an army ſuperior to that of Sylla, whoſe approach was ſo much dreaded by all ranks of men.

During theſe preparations, Sylla was not leſs expeditious, by long and forced marches, in returning to his native country, which he intended to deluge with blood. Being arrived at Dyracchium, where he had prepared a fleet to convey him into Italy, he harangued his army before they embarked, entreating, that they would engage themſelves by an oath, to continue faithful to his cauſe. To this they unanimouſly conſented; and as an earneſt of their ſincerity, offered him all the money which they had acquired in their late expeditions, towards ſupporting the expences of the war. Sylla, pleaſed at their alacrity, refuſed their intended favours, aſſuring them, that they ſhould ſoon ſhare much greater rewards from his bounty, than he had yet been able to beſtow; and then embarking his troops, landed them, after a favourable paſſage, at Brunduſium.

Soon after his arrival there, the remains of that ſhattered party which had eſcaped the proſcriptions of Marius, came to join him.

him. Metellus was the firſt, with a large body of forces which he had collected in his way. Marcus Craſſus came with a ſupply, as alſo Cethegus; but of all the ſuccours which he received, none were more timely or pleaſing, than thoſe which were brought him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards ſurnamed the Great. This commander began already to ſhew the dawnings of that ambition, which afterwards ſhone with ſuch luſtre in the commonwealth. Though but twenty-three years of age, and at that time inveſted with no publick character, he found means to raiſe an army of three legions in Picænum, and to overthrow Brutus, who commanded the troops of the oppoſite faction in that diſtrict. This victory was alſo ſignalized by his killing the general of the Gauliſh cavalry, in ſingle combat, for which he was ſaluted with the higheſt marks of reſpect by Sylla, who ſeemed to have a preſcience of his future greatneſs.

A civil war being thus determined upon, and both parties being now advanced very near each other, Sylla was willing to try how far the immenſe riches he brought with him from Aſia, were capable of ſhaking the enemies forces, without a battle. For this purpoſe, he at firſt pretended to be averſe to engaging, and ſent deputies to Scipio, the conſul, who commanded againſt him, with propoſals for coming

to a treaty. The conſul, who ſought for nothing ſo much as peace, very readily embraced his offers, but deſired time, previouſly to confer with Urbanus, his colleague, upon a meaſure in which he was equally concerned. This was all that Sylla deſired; for in the mean time, a ſuſpenſion of arms being agreed upon, his ſoldiers went into the oppoſite camp, diſplaying thoſe riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow-citizens, in caſe they changed their party. The ſame motives that prevailed on the ſoldiers of Fimbria to deſert him, now prevailed upon theſe alſo to deſert their general. The whole army declared unanimouſly for Sylla; and Scipio ſcarce knew that he was forſaken and depoſed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who, entering his tent, made him and his ſon priſoners. Sylla, however, acted with great moderation towards him; he would permit no injury to be done to the conſul, but employed all his arts to bring him over to his party. After much entreaty, finding him inflexible, he generouſly gave him his freedom, having obtained his promiſe not to command againſt him during the reſt of his conſulſhip.

Sylla, having ſucceeded ſo well in this inſtance, reſolved to try the ſame arts upon the army commanded by Urbanus, the other conſul. He ſent deputies to him, deſiring a conference;

ference; but the conſul, inſtructed by the diſgrace of his colleague, confined the deputies, and marched directly againſt Sylla, hoping to come upon him by ſurprize. An engagement enſued, in which Sylla's troops, though attacked when in diſorder, repaired by their courage, what they wanted in regularity. Urbanus loſt ſeven thouſand men, and was obliged to take refuge in Capua, with the remainder of his army.

Italy now began to feel all the deſolations and miſeries of a declared civil war, nor were the ſecret intrigues of corruption carried on by both parties with leſs perſeverance and aſſiduity: the emiſſaries of each were ſeen going diligently, during the whole winter, among the ſtates of Italy, labouring, by all the arts of bribery and perſuaſion, to gain over forces to their cauſe. Sylla was particularly verſed in the buſineſs of ſeduction, and great ſums of that money which had been plundered from the Eaſt, were employed all over the country, and even among the barbarous nations of Gaul, to extend his intereſts. On the other hand, the Samnites, to the number of forty thouſand men, declared in favour of Carbo, his chief oppoſer, who was choſen conſul a third time, with young Marius, of whom his party had formed great expectations. The operations in the field, which had been ſuſpended during the winter, opened with ſtill greater vigour in the beginning of the

ſpring. Marius, at the head of twenty-five cohorts, offered Sylla battle; which this general, knowing how the troops againſt him were prediſpoſed, readily accepted. At firſt the fortune of the day ſeemed doubtful, but, juſt at that period in which victory begins to waver, a part of the troops of Marius, which had been previouſly corrupted fled in diſorder, and thus decided the fate of the day. Marius having vainly endeavoured to rally his troops, was the laſt who fled, and went to take refuge in Præneſte, a ſtrong city that was ſtill ſtedfaſt in his cauſe. Sylla cloſely purſued him there, and inveſted the city on every ſide: then having diſpoſed his army in ſuch a manner as that none of the defendants could eſcape, and no forces could be thrown into the garriſon from without, he marched at the head of a detachment to Rome.

The partizans of Marius having been appriz-ed of his defeat, abandoned the city with precipitation; ſo that Sylla approached without reſiſtance. The inhabitants, thinned by famine and the ravages that attend a civil war, opened their gates upon his arrival: wherefore entering the Forum, and aſſembling the people, he reprimanded them for their infidelity. However, he exhorted them not to be dejected, for he was ſtill reſolved to pardon and protect them. He obſerved that he was obliged by the neceſſity of the times, to take vigorous meaſures, and that none

none but their enemies and his own ſhould ſuffer. He then put up the goods of thoſe that fled, to ſale; and, leaving a ſmall garriſon in the city, returned to beſiege his rival.

Young Marius, on the other hand, made many attempts to raiſe the ſiege; but all his deſigns were known to Sylla, before they were put into execution. Wherever his ſallies were pointed, the peculiar attention of Sylla's lieutenant ſeemed to be directed there. Thus frequently fruſtrated in his attempts to repulſe, or at leaſt to eſcape his beſiegers, he gave way to that reſentment which was remarkable in his family, and, aſcribing his want of ſucceſs to the treachery of Sylla's friends, who pretended to remain neuter, he ſent orders to Rome, to Brutus, who was prætor there, to put all thoſe ſenators to death, whom he ſuſpected to be in the intereſt of his rival. With this cruel command Brutus immediately complied, and many of the firſt rank, among whom were Domitius, Antiſtius, and Scævola, were ſlain as they were leaving the ſenate. Thus, whatever party was victorious, Rome was a miſerable ſufferer.

Both factions, thus exaſperated to the higheſt degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in ſeveral engagements. The forces on the ſide of Marius were the moſt numerous, but thoſe of Sylla better united and more under ſubordination. Carbo, who com-

manded an army for Marius in the field, ſent eight legions to Prænesſte, to relieve his colleague; but they were met by Pompey in a defile, who ſlew many of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, ſoon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loſs of ten thouſand men ſlain, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners. In conſequence of this defeat, Urbanus killed himſelf, and Carbo fled to Africa, where, after wandering a long time, he was at laſt delivered up to Pompey, who, to pleaſe Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Still, however, a numerous army of the Samnites were in the field, headed by ſeveral Roman generals, and by Teleſinus, who, though a Samnite, had ſhewn himſelf equal to the greateſt commanders of the age. They were ſoon after joined by four legions commanded by Carianus, who was obſtinately bent upon continuing the war. In conſequence of this junction, a reſolution was formed to make one deſperate effort to raiſe the ſiege of Prænesſte, or periſh in the attempt. Accordingly, Teleſinus made a ſhew of advancing with great boldneſs, to force the enemy's lines of circumvallation. At the ſame time Sylla, at the head of a victorious army oppoſed him in front; while orders were ſent to Pompey to follow and attack him in the rear. The Samnite general, however, ſhewed himſelf ſuperior to both in theſe operations; for, judging of their deſigns by their motions, he led

led off his troops by night, and, by forced marches, appeared next morning upon the mountains that overlooked Rome. This devoted city had juſt time ſufficient to ſhut its gates, to prevent his entrance; but he hoped to ſeize the place by a bold aſſault, and encouraging his ſoldiers, both by their ancient enmity to the Roman ſtate, and their hopes of immenſe riches when the city was taken; he brought on his men, and led them boldly to the very walls. Appius Claudius, who was at that time in Rome, and in the intereſt of Sylla, made a ſally to oppoſe him, rather with hopes of delaying the aſſailants, than of entirely repreſſing them. The Romans fought with that vigour, which the conſciouſneſs of defending every thing dear inſpires. But Appius was killed in the combat, and the reſt diſheartened by the loſs of their general, ſeemed preparing for flight. Juſt at this interval, a party of Sylla's horſe appeared at the oppoſite gates, who throwing themſelves into the city, and haſtening through it, met the aſſailants on the other ſide. The deſperate fury of theſe, in ſome meaſure, ſuſpended the fate of the battle, till Sylla with his whole army had time to arrive. It was then that a general and dreadful conflict enſued between the Samnite and the Roman army. The citizens from their walls beheld thouſands fall on both ſides. At firſt the forces com-

manded by Sylla on the left, gave way, but his lieutenant Craſſus was victorious on the right. The battle continued till late at night; nor was it till the morning, that Sylla found himſelf completely victorious. He then viſited the field of battle, on which more than fifty thouſand of the vanquiſhed and the victors lay promiſcuouſly. Eight thouſand of the Samnites were made priſoners, and killed in cold blood after the engagement. Marcius and Carinus, attempting to eſcape, were taken, and their heads being cut off, were ſent, by Sylla's command, to be carried round the walls of Prænesſte. At this ſorrowful ſight, the inhabitants of the place, being now deſtitute of proviſions, and deſpairing of all ſuccour from without, reſolved to ſurrender; but it was only to experience the unrelenting fury of the conqueror, who ordered all the males to be ſlain. Marius, the cauſe of theſe calamities, was at firſt miſſing, and it was thought had eſcaped, but he was at laſt diſcovered lying dead with a captain of the Samnites, at the iſſue of one of the ſubterranean paſſages that led from the city, where they had tried to eſcape, but finding it guarded by the enemy, killed themſelves. The city of Norba was all that remained unſubdued in Italy; but the inhabitants, after a long reſiſtance, dreading the fate of Prænesſte, ſet their town on fire, and deſperately periſhed

in the flames. The deſtruction of this place put an end to the civil war: Sylla was now become undiſputed maſter of his country, and entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy, had he ſupported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war; or had he ceaſed to live, when he ceaſed to conquer.

Being now no longer obliged to wear the maſk of lenity, he began his tyranny by aſſembling the people, and deſiring an implicit obedience to his commands, if they expected favour. He then publiſhed, that thoſe who expected pardon for their late offences, ſhould gain it by deſtroying the enemies of the ſtate. This was a new mode of proſcription, by which the arms of all were turned againſt all. Great numbers periſhed by this mutual power, which was given the people of deſtroying each other; and nothing was to be found in every place, but menaces, diſtruſt, and treachery. Eight thouſand, who had eſcaped the general carnage, offered themſelves to the conqueror of Rome; he ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large houſe in the Campus Martius; and at the ſame time convoked the ſenate: there he ſpoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way diſcompoſed, of his own exploits; and in the mean time had given private directions, that all thoſe wretches whom he had confined, ſhould be ſlain. The ſenate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the ſufferers,

ſufferers, at firſt thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla with an unembarraſſed air, informed them, that it was only ſome criminals who were puniſhed by his order, and that they needed not make themſelves uneaſy about their fate. The day after, he proſcribed forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights; and, after an intermiſſion of two days, forty ſenators more, with an infinite number of the richeſt citizens of Rome. He declared the children and the grand-childeren of the oppoſite party, infamous, and diveſted of the rights of freedom. He ordained, by a publick edict, that thoſe who ſaved or harboured any of the proſcribed ſhould ſuffer in their place. He ſet a price upon the heads of ſuch as were thus to be deſtroyed, two talents being the reward affixed for every murder. Slaves, invited by ſuch offers, were ſeen to kill their maſters; and, ſtill more ſhocking to humanity, children, whoſe hands ſtill reeked with the blood of their parents, came confidently to demand the wages of parricide.

Nor were the enemies of the ſtate the only ſufferers; Sylla permitted his ſoldiers to revenge their private injuries; ſo that huſbands were murdered by ſuch as deſired to enjoy their widows; and children were ſlain in the embraces of their parents, who were ſoon to ſhare the ſame fate. Riches now became dangerous to the poſſeſſor, and even the reputation of fortune was equivalent to guilt: Aurelius, a peaceable citizen,

without any other crime, found his name among the number of the proſcribed, and could not help crying out, juſt before his aſſaſſination, that he owed his death to the magnificence of his palace at Alba. But the brother of Marius felt the conqueror's moſt refined cruelty! Firſt, he had his eyes plucked out deliberately; then his hands and legs cut off at ſeveral times, to lengthen his torments; and in this agonizing ſituation was left to expire. But theſe barbarities were not confined to Rome; the proſcription was extended to many of the inhabitants of the cities of Italy; and even whole towns and diſtricts were ordered to be laid deſolate. Theſe were given to his ſoldiers as rewards for their fidelity; who, ſtill wanting more, excited him to new cruelty. In this general ſlaughter, Julius Cæſar, who had married Cinna's daughter, very hardly eſcaped the miſeries of the times: Sylla was prevailed upon to let him live, though he was heard to ſay, that there were many Mariuſes in Cæſar.

However, theſe arbitrary confiſcations, and numerous largeſſes, which were given to his followers, were not to be retained without ſome ſhare of continuing power. He, therefore, reſolved to inveſt himſelf with the dictatorſhip; and thus uniting all civil as well as military power in his own perſon, he might thence give an air of juſtice to every oppreſſion. He, therefore,

fore, withdrew a while from the city; and gave orders, that, ſince affairs ſtill remained unſettled, the people ſhould be applied to, to create a dictator; and that not for any limited time, but till the publick grievances ſhould be redreſſed. To theſe directions he added his requeſt, which was equivalent to a command, that himſelf ſhould be choſen. To this the people being conſtrained to yield, choſe him perpetual dictator; and thus the Romans received a maſter inveſted with an authority far more abſolute than any of their kings had been ever poſſeſſed of.

The government of Rome having now paſſed through all the forms of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, at length began to ſettle into deſpotiſm; from which, though it made ſome faint ſtruggles to be free, yet it never completely extricated itſelf. Sylla, to amuſe the people with a ſhow of their former government, permitted them to have conſuls; but at the ſame time took care, that none but his own creatures ſhould be elected; and that all their power ſhould be entirely derived from him. He made ſeveral new laws for regulating the different offices of the ſtate. He totally deſtroyed the power of the tribunes, by enacting, that thoſe who bore it, ſhould be incapable of obtaining any other office. He added three hundred of the knights to the ſenate; and ten thouſand of the

the ſlaves of thoſe who were proſcribed, to the body of the people. To eſtabliſh theſe regulations more firmly, he appropriated to himſelf the treaſures of the publick; and laviſhed them in widening his dependencies, and ſtrengthening his intereſt; he ſeemed to think he could never ſufficiently reward his creatures, if they were but implicit in their obedience. Craſſus, who was already the richeſt man in the ſtate, was ever ſolliciting an accumulation of his favours, and buying up the effects of ſuch as were proſcribed, at an under rate. Pompey put away his wife Antiſtia to oblige him, and married Emilia, the dictator's ſtep child. He attempted to exerciſe the ſame power over Julius Cæſar, by obliging him to repudiate his wife Cornelia; but that young Roman choſe to baniſh himſelf from the city, rather than comply, and reſolved never to return, till Sylla was no more.

In this manner he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to reſiſt his power. The fate of Lucretius Offella proved how dangerous it was to control a tyrant in the full exerciſe of his authority: this man ventured to offer himſelf for the conſulſhip, in oppoſition to one of Sylla's decrees, which had forbidden any man's aſpiring to that dignity, without having gone through the regular gradations of office. However, as he had formerly rendered ſome very ſignal ſervices to his party, he thought that

that would excuſe him. He was therefore at firſt deſired to deſiſt from his attempt; but perſevering, Sylla ordered one of his dependents to ſtab him, and then threatened to inflict the ſame puniſhment upon any other perſon, who ſhould attempt to diſpute his authority. By ſuch means as theſe, he was ſubmitted to with the moſt blind obedience. Whenever he propoſed laws, the people aſſembled, not to deliberate upon their fitneſs, but to give them the ſanction of their conſent. They found themſelves quite ejected from any concern in the ſtate; and ſaw nothing before them, but a proſpect of hopeleſs and confirmed ſlavery. It was at this juncture, that, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, Sylla laid down the dictatorſhip, having held it not quite three years.

It was not without the greateſt ſurpriſe, that the people ſaw this conqueror, who had made himſelf ſo many enemies in every part of the ſtate, quitting a power he had earned by ſuch various dangers, and reducing himſelf to the rank of a private citizen: but their wonder increaſed, when they heard him after ſo many acts of cruelty, and ſuch numberleſs maſſacres, offering to take his tryal before the people, whom he conſtituted judges of his conduct. Having diveſted himſelf in their preſence of his office, and diſmiſſed the lictors who guarded him, he continued to walk for ſome time in the Forum, unattended

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and alone. At the approach of evening he retired homewards the people following him all the way in a kind of ſilent aſtoniſhment, mixed with the profoundeſt reſpect. Of all that great multitude, which he had ſo often inſulted and terrified, none was found hardy enough to reproach or accuſe him, except one young man, who purſued him with inſulting language to his own door. Sylla diſdained replying to ſo mean an adverſary; but turning to thoſe who attended him, obſerved, That this fellow's inſolence would, for the future, prevent any man's laying down an office of ſuch ſupreme authority. It is not eaſy to explain the motives of Sylla's abdication; whether they proceeded from vanity, or a deep laid ſcheme of policy. Whether, being ſatiated with the uſual adulation which he received for his conqueſts, he was now deſirous of receiving ſome for his patriotiſm; or whether, dreading an aſſaſſination from ſome ſecret enemy, he was willing to diſarm him, by retiring from the ſplendors of an envied ſituation. However this may be, he ſoon retired into the country, in order to enjoy the pleaſures of tranquillity and ſocial happineſs, but he did not long ſurvive his abdication; he died of that diſeaſe which is called the morbus pedicularis, a loathſome and mortifying object to human ambition. He was the firſt of his family whoſe body was burnt; for

for having ordered the remains of Marius to be taken out of his grave and thrown into the river Anio, he was apprehenſive of the ſame inſult upon his own, if left to the uſual way of burial. A little before his death he made his own epitaph, the tenor of which was, That no man had ever exceeded him in doing good to his friends, or injury to his enemies.

As ſoon as Sylla was dead, the old diſſenſions that had been ſmothered for ſome time by the terror of his power, burſt out into a flame between the two factions, ſupported ſeverally by the two conſuls, Catulus and Lepidus, who were wholly oppoſite to each other in party and politicks. Lepidus reſolved, whatever might be the conſequence, to reſcind the acts of Sylla, and recall the exiled Marians, beginning openly to ſollicit the people to ſupport him in that reſolution. This attempt, though plauſible, was, at this time, particularly unſeaſonable, when the ſtate was juſt recovering from the wounds it had received in the civil war. On the other hand, Catulus, whoſe father had been condemned to die by Marius, inheriting the principles of his family, vigorouſly oppoſed, and effectually counter-acted, the deſigns of his colleague. Lepidus thus finding himſelf unable to attain his ends, without recurring to arms, retired to his government of Gaul, with intent to raiſe a force ſufficient to ſubdue all oppoſition, where the report of his levies

levies and military preparations gave ſuch umbrage to the ſenate, that they ſoon abrogated his command. Upon this he advanced into Italy, at the head of a large army, and marched in an hoſtile manner towards Rome, to demand a ſecond conſulſhip. He had with him, ſeveral of the chief magiſtrates, and the good wiſhes of all the tribunes; ſo that he hoped, by the popularity of his cauſe, to advance himſelf into Sylla's place, and uſurp the ſovereign authority of the ſtate. Catulus in the mean time, upon the expiration of his office, was inveſted with the charge of defending the government; and Pompey was, by a decree of the ſenate, joined with him in the ſame commiſſion. Theſe, therefore, having united their forces before Lepidus could reach the city, came to an engagement with him, near the Milvian Bridge, within two miles of Rome, where they totally routed and diſperſed his army. But Ciſalpine Gaul ſtill remaining in the poſſeſſion of Brutus his lieutenant, and the father of him who afterwards conſpired againſt Cæſar, Pompey went to reduce that province; where Brutus having ſuſtained a ſiege in Modena, was taken, and put to death by Pompey's order. As for Lepidus, he eſcaped into Sardinia where he died ſoon after of grief, to ſee his hopes deſtroyed, and his country fallen a ſacrifice to the ariſtocratical faction.

But the hopes of their party did not entirely expire here. A more dangerous enemy ſtill remained in Spain, who, for a conſiderable time made it doubtful, whether that province, or Rome, ſhould poſſeſs the empire of the world. This was Sertorius, a veteran ſoldier, who had been bred under Marius, and had acquired all his virtues, without being tinctured by any of his vices. He was temperate, juſt, merciful, and brave; but his military ſkill ſeemed to exceed that of any other general of his time. Upon the extinction of the Marian party, this brave commander fell into the hands of Sylla, who diſmiſſed him with life, upon account of his known moderation: yet ſoon after, capriciouſly repenting of his clemency, he proſcribed, and drove him to the neceſſity of ſeeking ſafety in a diſtant province. Sertorius being thus baniſhed from Rome, after ſeveral attempts on Africa and the coaſts of the Mediterranean, found, at laſt, a refuge in Spain, whither all who fled from Sylla's cruelty reſorted to him; of whom he formed a ſenate, that gave laws to the whole province. There, by his great abilities and clemency, he ſo gained the hearts of the warlike inhabitants, that for eight years he continued to ſuſtain a war againſt the whole power of the Roman ſtate. Metellus, an old and experienced commander was ſent againſt him at firſt; but he was ſo often out-generalled by his oppo-

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nent, that the ſenate found it neceſſary to ſend their favorite Pompey to his aſſiſtance, with the beſt troops of the empire.

Sertorious maintained his ground againſt them both, and, after many engagements, in which he generally came off equal, and often ſuperior, he began to meditate nothing leſs than the invaſion of Italy. But all his ſchemes were baffled by the treachery of one of his lieutenants, who was next to him in command, and envied his riſing reputation. This wretch's name was Perpenna, who had ſome time before come over to him with the ſhattered remains of Lepidus's army, and was, at firſt, an uſeful aſſiſtant. However a jealouſy ariſing between them, Perpenna invited him to a ſumptuous entertainment, where having intoxicated all his attendants, he fell upon Sertorius, and treacherouſly murdered him. This ſtroke of barbarity only ſerved to ruin his party, which had been entirely ſupported by the reputation of the general; for ſoon after Perpenna, being eaſily overthrown by Pompey, was taken priſoner, and all the revolted provinces readily ſubmitted. The conqueror is celebrated on this occaſion, for an action of great prudence and generoſity. Perpenna, in hopes to ſave his life, offered to make ſome important diſcoveries, and to put into his hands all the papers of Sertorius, in which were ſeveral letters to and from the principal ſenators of Rome. Pompey, however,

rejecting his offer, ordered the traitor to be ſlain, and his papers to be burnt without reading them. By theſe means he eaſed the people of their fears, and prevented thoſe acts of deſperation, which the conſciouſneſs of being diſcovered might have given riſe to.

The preſent proſperity of Pompey was highly pleaſing at Rome; he had hitherto been ſucceſsful in all his affairs; and in this inſtance, as if Fortune had delighted in giving him new opportunities of ſerving his country, he ſeemed peculiarly happy. Upon his return, he attacked a large body of ſlaves, who had eſcaped after their overthrow by Craſſus in Italy, and cut them to pieces. This inſurrection, which Pompey had the good fortune of thus terminating, was called the Servile war, and took its riſe from a few gladiators, who broke from their fencing-ſchool at Capua, and, having drawn a number of ſlaves after them, overthrew Glaber the prætor, who was ſent to ſuppreſs them; and from this ſucceſs, their number ſoon increaſed to an army, of forty thouſand men. With this ſtrength, and headed by Spartacus their general, they ſuſtained a vigorous war for three years, in the very heart of Italy: they defeated ſeveral commanders of conſular and prætorian rank, and even began to talk of attacking Rome. But Craſſus having aſſembled all the forces which were neareſt the capital, drove them before

before him to the extremity of Rhegium, where for want of veſſels to make their eſcape, the greateſt part were deſtroyed; and among them Spartacus, fighting bravely to the laſt, at the head of his deſperate forces. It was the remainder of this wretched band, that Pompey happened to fall in with in his paſſage acroſs the Alps homeward; and, as he expreſſed it to the ſenate, by deſtroying them, plucked up the war by the roots. Thus ended all the civil wars which were excited by the ambition of Marius and Sylla, a long and diſmal period, in which the reader can ſide with neither party, as both were equally cruel, baſe, ſelf-intereſted, and venal. The republick had been long fated to deſtruction, its former juſtice and moderation was gone, and it was of little conſequence who was to have the overwhelming of a corrupted empire.

Yet ſtill, during this interval which we have been deſcribing, all the arts of peace had been cultivated, and had riſen almoſt to the ſummit of perfection. Plautus and Terence, it is true, had flouriſhed ſome time before; but Lucretius the boaſt of his age, who exceeds as much in poetry as he falls ſhort in philoſophy, adorned thoſe ill fated times, and charmed with the harmony of his verſification. Learning, however, was chiefly cultivated among the great, or luxury had not yet ſufficiently deſcended

to the meaner ranks, to make them reliſh the elegant gratifications of life; for mankind muſt in ſome meaſure be ſatisfied with the pleaſures of ſenſe, before they can think of indulging the refined pleaſures of imagination.

CHAP. XX.

From the Perpetual Dictatorſhip of Sylla to the Triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus.

U. C. 680. ALL factions being apparently quelled in the empire, it was hoped that peace would be reſtored, and that the commonwealth would have time to reſpire from the calamities it had ſuſtained during the civil war. But the ſpirit of ambition had entered into the ſtate, and the leading men now ſaw the poſſibility of obtaining ſovereign power by Sylla's example. Of theſe chiefly in favour with the ſenate and the people, Pompey and Craſſus were the principal; both conquerors, both deſirous of power, and both aiming at it by extending their popularity. We have already ſeen Pompey, while very young, performing one of the moſt active parts in conducting the buſineſs of the empire: we have ſeen him joining with, and conquering in the cauſe of Sylla; ſoon after ſent into Africa, and the firſt of the equeſtrian order who had a triumph; afterwards ſiding againſt Lepidus, and then

then conquering the army which had been in poſſeſſion of Spain, and commanded by the accompliſhed Sertorius; to crown all, honoured with the conſulſhip in his abſence, before the conſular age. Theſe ſucceſſes had greatly inflamed his pride, and extended his deſire of glory. Craſſus on the other hand was equally deſirous of obtaining popularity; but being wholly unequal to his rival in military fame he took another road to acquire it: this was by amaſſing riches, which he gathered from the calamities of his country, only to involve it in new diſtreſſes. He uſed to ſay, That no man ſhould be reckoned wealthy who was not able to maintain an army; and, in fact, the number of his ſlaves was equal to a large one. He had, beſides, the character of a good ſpeaker in the ſenate; and by his eaſy and familiar addreſs, joined to a readineſs in aſſiſting all who wanted either his protection or his money, he acquired great authority in public affairs. Beſides the rivalſhip of power between theſe two great men, Craſſus had another cauſe of reſentment; which was, Pompey's aſſuming to himſelf the glory of terminating the Servile war, for which the other had actually received the honour of a triumph, by the ſenate's command. Both, therefore, ſecretly wiſhed to undermine each other; neither with views of freeing his country from the overgrown power of an aſpiring citizen; but each with a deſire of eſtabliſhing his own.

The firſt opportunity that was afforded of diſcovering their mutual jealouſy, was upon the diſbanding their troops, with which they had conquered. Neither choſe to begin; ſo that the moſt fatal conſequences were likely to ariſe from their diſſenſion: but, at length, Craſſus, ſtifling his reſentment, reſigned his command; and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was, who ſhould be foremoſt in obtaining the favour of the people. Craſſus entertained the populace at a thouſand different tables; diſtributed corn to the families of the poor and fed the greateſt part of the citizens for near three months. Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made againſt the people's authority by Sylla: he reſtored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus; and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their former privileges. It was thus that each gave his private aims a public appearance; ſo that what was in reality ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality, with the other that of freedom.

However, the arts of Pompey ſeemed, upon this occaſion, to give him the ſuperiority. The tribunes, who were reſtored to all their former dignities, thought they could never ſufficiently recompence their benefactor: they only waited for an opportunity of gratifying his higheſt ambition;

bition; and this ſoon offered. A number of pirates, formerly employed by Mithridates, had, by the long continuance of their ſucceſs in plundering all they met, amaſſed great wealth, and got together many thouſand men of ſeveral nations. They made choice of Cilicia for their principal place of reſort, and, not content with robbing by ſea, ventured even upon conqueſts by land. Italy itſelf was not free from their invaſions, where they often landed, and carried away whatever they met with in their haſty incurſions. It was now, therefore, reſolved at Rome, to puniſh their inſolence by ſending out a fleet capable of utterly deſtroying their power. For this purpoſe, Gabinius the tribune preferred a law, that Pompey ſhould be created admiral, with abſolute authority againſt the pirates for three years; that his power ſhould extend over the whole Mediterranean ſea and its coaſts, to a certain diſtance on land; that he ſhould raiſe as many ſoldiers and mariners as he ſhould think expedient; and that he ſhould receive from the publick treaſury, whatever ſums of money he thought neceſſary for carrying on the war. This law, which the ſenate vainly attempted to oppoſe, gave Pompey a degree of power which he might have eaſily converted to the detriment of his country: but nothing dangerous was to be feared from a man whoſe actions always teſtified more of vanity than ambition.

Pompey

Pompey, being thus furniſhed with abſolute power over the fleet, diſpatched his lieutenants to the ſeveral bays and harbours of the Mediterranean with ſo much judgement, that he ſoon forced the enemy from their ports. In the mean time, himſelf, at the head of the largeſt ſquadron of his fleet, ſailed up and down, viſiting and inſtructing ſuch as he ſent upon duty. By theſe means, in leſs than forty days, he obliged the enemy to take refuge in Cilicia, the only retreat that was left them. He ſoon followed them, with ſixty of his beſt ſhips; and though they had prepared to give him battle, yet they, upon ſight of the fleet, were ſtruck with the terrors of his name, and ſubmitted to his mercy. As their number amounted to above twenty thouſand men, he was unwilling to deſtroy them; and yet to permit their returning to their ancient habitations, was not ſafe. He therefore removed them to places farther diſtant from the ſea, where he gave them lands, and thus added new ſubjects and dominions to the empire of Rome.

This expedition having added greatly to Pompey's reputation, the tribunes now hoped it would be eaſier to advance their favourite ſtill higher; wherefore Manilius, one of the number preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, with the government of Aſia, together with the management of the war againſt

Mithridates

Mithridates and Tigranes, ſhould be committed to him alone. A power ſo great and unlimited awakened all the jealouſy of the ſenate; this they conſidered as nothing leſs than proclaiming him ſovereign of the empire. This was giving one, already maſter of the fleet, an unlimited power by land, and even ſeemed to tempt him to enſlave his country. The weight of theſe reaſons, and, ſtill more, the authority of the ſenate, were about to preponderate, and the tribunes ſeemed heſitating whether they ſhould not withdraw their motion, when Marcus Tullius Cicero roſe up to ſecond the law, and to pay his tribute of eloquence to the virtues of Pompey. It was the firſt time that this orator had ever addreſſed the aſſembly of the people, but it was impoſſible but that eloquence muſt have been irreſtible then, which to this day continues to charm and improve poſterity. The law paſſed with little oppoſition; the decree was confirmed by all the tribes of the people; and Pompey was peaceably inveſted with as great power, as Sylla had forced himſelf into through infinite difficulties.

Pompey, being thus appointed to the command of the war againſt Mithridates, immediately departed for Aſia, having made the proper preparations towards forwarding the campaign. The war againſt this monarch was one of the moſt important that had been hitherto undertaken

taken by the Romans. We do not, on this occaſion, read of princes already overcome by luxury and pride, or trembling at the ſplendor of the Roman name; but of a mighty king, undaunted in every ſtage of his fortune, and, like a lion, gaining new courage from every wound. His dominions were, in fact, well ſituated for ſupporting a war againſt an invading enemy. They bordered on the inacceſſible mountains of Mount Caucaſus, whoſe ſavage inhabitants he could bring into the field; they extended thence along the ſea of Pontus, which he covered with his ſhips: beſides, he was rich, and continually raiſing new armies among the Scythians, a people of invincible bravery. I have already mentioned the reſiſtance he made againſt Sylla, and the peace which that general forced him to accept: this, however, being the effects of a compulſion, laſted no longer than while there were forces ſtrong enough to compel him to its obſervance. Murena, whom Sylla had left behind, attempting to reduce him to obedience, firſt met with diſgrace, and, at laſt, a total overthrow. Some time after, Mithridates, having procured the alliance of Tigranes, king of Armenia, invaded the kingdon of Bithynia, which he had been formerly obliged to reſign, and which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans by Nicomedes, the king of the country. To ſtop the progreſs of theſe conqueſts, Lucullus, an experienced

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general,

general, had been ſent from Rome, and upon his arrival, an engagement enſued, in which Mithridates loſt his whole army; and, being obliged to eſcape by ſea, was very near falling into the hands of the enemy, had he not been taken up by a pirate; who landed him ſafe in his own dominions. No way intimidated by theſe diſaſters, he ſoon raiſed another army, and in the beginning gained ſome advantages over the enemy. But Lucullus ſoon after cut off all his internal reſources, and forced him to take ſhelter in the court of Tigranes, king of Armenia. The Roman general followed him thither alſo, and demanded his perſon; but Tigranes, though from no particular attachment to the depoſed king, refuſed to deliver him, becauſe Lucullus had omitted giving him all his titles. Pride, it ſeems, was the reigning paſſion of this weak monarch; he was more deſirous of receiving homage than of procuring power: it was uſual with him, to oblige the kings he had conquered to attend him as ſlaves, when he appeared in publick; having aſſumed, from his ſucceſſes over the weaker ſtates around him, the title of Monarch of all Monarchies. This, it ſeems, was the title the Roman general diſdained granting him. The war therefore changing its objects, the generals of Tigranes were at firſt eaſily overcome; and, though he ſoon after engaged at the head of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, yet he

met

met with no better ſucceſs. Theſe victories promiſed a ſpeedy end to the war, which had now been protracted for ſeven years; and, though the conduct of it was once more devolved upon Mithridates, yet he being preſſed as much as ever, was obliged to take refuge in Leſſer Armenia. Thither Lucullus was preparing to follow him, when accounts came that Glabrio, who had been conſul for the laſt year, was appointed to diſplace Lucullus in his command, and was actually arrived in Aſia for that purpoſe. This diſgrace it ſeems was owing to the intrigues of ſome of Lucullus's ſoldiers, who, haraſſed by perpetual fatigues, and ſeduced by factious officers, had privately ſent their complaints to the ſenate; wherefore, upon Glabrio's arrival, the whole army abandoned Lucullus, who could not ſee without indignation, their common enemy Mithridates reſume all his power, and recover the whole kingdom of Pontus; while Glabrio, teſtifying no inclination to enter upon a troubleſome command, continued an idle ſpectator of his ſucceſſes, and choſe to ſtop ſhort in Bithynia. This mutinous ſpirit in the troops of Lucullus, and the little inclination Glabrio ſeemed to have of engaging, gave riſe to that general deſire which prevailed, of appointing Pompey to terminate the war, who ſhortly after went over into Aſia for that purpoſe.

The

The firſt duty which he thought incumbent upon him after his arrival, was to propoſe terms of accommodation to Mithridates; but this monarch having a little reſpired from his great and numerous loſſes, determined to try his fortune while it ſeemed propitious. He had found means to collect a very conſiderable army from the wrecks of his former power, and was reſolved to follow the Romans into Armenia, where he expected to cut off their ſupplies: but being diſappointed in this, he was obliged to fly, having firſt killed all ſuch as were not able to accompany him in his retreat: however, he was purſued with great diligence by Pompey, and overtaken before he could have time to paſs the river Euphrates. Though it was then night, being compelled to engage, it is ſaid, that the moon ſhining from behind the Roman army, lengthened their ſhadows ſo much, that the archers of Mithridates ſhot their arrows at theſe, miſtaking the ſhadow for the ſubſtance. However that be, the Aſiatic ſoldiers were unable to withſtand the force of the European infantry; he did all that lay in the power of a great and experienced general, to lead them on to the charge and to prevent their terrors; but they could not be brought to endure the ſhock; cowardice and effeminacy having been then, as well as now, the characteriſtics of an Eaſtern army. Being thus again overthrown, with the loſs of almoſt all his forces

forces, and finding himſelf hemmed in on every ſide by the Romans, he made a deſperate effort, at the head of eight hundred horſe, to break through them; and thus effected his eſcape, though with the loſs of five hundred of his followers in the attempt. He had long been acquainted with diſtreſs, but his preſent ſituation ſeemed more deplorable than ever: he continued for ſeveral days ſorrowfully wandering through the foreſts that covered the country, leading his horſe in his hand, and ſubſiſting on whatever fruits he accidently found on his way: in this forlorn ſituation he met with about three thouſand of his ſoldiers who had eſcaped from the general carnage, and by their aſſiſtance he was conducted to one of the magazines, where he had depoſited thoſe treaſures that were intended to ſupport the war. He ſent from thence to Tigranes for aid; but that monarch was too much engaged in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of one of his own ſons at home, to be able to ſend any ſuccours abroad. Diſappointed on that ſide, ſtill, however, he would not deſpair, but fled to Colchis, a ſtate which had formerly acknowledged his power. Being purſued thither alſo by Pompey he took another dreary journey, croſſed the Araxes, marched from danger to danger, through the country of the Lazi, and aſſembling all the barbarians he met with in his way, induced the Scythian princes to declare againſt Rome.

Rome. Stedfaſt in his enmity, he continued his oppoſition, even though he found his own family confederating againſt him. Although betrayed by his ſon Macharis, and his life attempted by Pharnaces, yet he ſtill aimed at great deſigns, and, even in the heart of Aſia, projected the invaſion of the Roman empire; this he intended to effect by marching into Europe, and, there being joined by the fierce nations that inhabited Germany and Gaul, to croſs the Alps into Italy, as Hannibal had done before him: but his timid Aſiatic ſoldiers were ill-diſpoſed to ſecond the great views of their leader. Upon being appriſed of his intentions, a mutiny enſued, which was promoted by his ſon Pharnaces, who had been long deſirous of gaining the favour of Pompey by parricide.

Mithridates being thus obliged to take refuge in his palace to eſcape the fury of the army, ſent to his ſon for leave to depart, offering the free poſſeſſion of all that remained of his wretched fortunes, and his title to thoſe dominions of which he had been deprived by the Romans. To this the unnatural ſon made no direct reply, conſcious that he was offered only what could not be taken away; but turning to the ſlave that brought him the meſſage, he bade him, with a ſtern countenance, tell his father, That death was all that now remained for him. Such an horrid inſtance of filial impiety added new

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poignance to the wretched monarch's affliction; he could not refrain from venting his imprecations, and from wiſhing that ſuch an unnatural child might, one day, meet with the like ingratitude from his own children. Then leaving his own apartment, where he had been for ſome time alone, he entered that particularly aſſigned to his wives, children, and domeſtics, where he bid all thoſe prepare for death, who did not chooſe to undergo the horrors of a Roman captivity. They all readily conſented to die with their monarch, and chearfully taking the poiſon, which he had in readineſs, expired before him. As for himſelf, having uſed his body much to antidotes, the poiſon had but little effect, whereupon he attempted to diſpatch himſelf with his ſword; but that alſo failing, a Gauliſh ſoldier, whoſe name was Bitæus, performed this friendly office. Thus died Mithridates, betrayed by his ſon, and forſaken by an army that ſeemed terrified at the greatneſs of his enterprizes. His fortune was various; his courage always the ſame: he had for twenty-five years oppoſed Rome; and, though he was often betrayed by his captains, his children, and his wives, yet he continually found reſources againſt his enemies, and was formidable to the very laſt.

In the mean time, Pompey was diligently employed in purſuing his advantages over Tigranes,

granes, who had not only to reſiſt the Romans, but his own three ſons who had united in rebellion againſt him. Two of theſe he had the fortune to overthrow, and put to death; but he was ſoon after compelled by Pompey to ſurrender. His remaining ſon, who had taken refuge in the Roman camp, did all that lay in his power to prevent a reconciliation; but Pompey reprimanding him for his diſobedience, treated the old king with great humanity, and reſtored him the greateſt part of his dominions, only depriving him of his conqueſts, and fining him ſix thouſand talents towards defraying the expences of the war. His ſon continuing ſtill averſe to a treaty, and threatening his father's life, was confined by the general's command, in order to be reſerved for his triumph.

Nothing being able to check the progreſs of Pompey's arms, he marched onward, over the vaſt mountains of Taurus, ſetting up and depoſing kings at his pleaſure. Darius, king of Media, and Antiochus, king of Syria, were compelled to ſubmit to his clemency; Phraates, king of Parthia, was obliged to retire, and ſend to entreat a peace. From thence, extending his conqueſts over the Thuræans and Arabians, he reduced all Syria and Pontus into Roman provinces. Then turning towards Judea, he ſummoned Ariſtobulus, who had uſurped the prieſthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus, to appear be-

fore him; but Ariſtobulus had fortified the temple of Jeruſalem againſt him, and refuſed to anſwer. This venerable place, which was thus converted into a garriſon, being very ſtrong from its ſituation, held out for three months, but was at laſt taken, and twelve thouſand of its defenders ſlain. Pompey entered this great ſanctuary with a mixture of reſolution and fear: he ſhewed an eager curioſity to enter into the Holy of Holies: there he gazed for ſome time upon thoſe things which it was unlawful for any but the prieſts themſelves to behold. Nevertheleſs, he ſhewed ſo much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any of the vaſt treaſures depoſited there. After reſtoring Hyrcanus to the prieſthood and government, he took Ariſtobulus with him, to grace his triumph upon his return. This triumph, which laſted two days, was the moſt ſplendid that had ever entered the gates of Rome: therein were expoſed the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities taken, twenty-nine repeopled, and a thouſand caſtles brought to acknowledge the empire of Rome. Among the priſoners led in triumph, appeared the ſon of Tigranes; Ariſtobulus, king of Judea; the ſiſter of Mithridates; together with the hoſtages of the Albanians, Iberians, and the king of Comagena. The treaſures that were brought home, amounted to near four

millions

millions of our money; and the trophies and other ſplendors of the proceſſion were ſuch that the ſpectators ſeemed loſt in the magnificent profuſion. All theſe victories, however, rather ſerved to highten the glory than to encreaſe the power of Rome; they only made it a more glaring object of ambition, and expoſed its liberties to greater danger. Thoſe liberties, indeed, ſeemed devoted to ruin on every ſide; for, even while Pompey was purſuing his conqueſt abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin, from a conſpiracy at home.

This conſpiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who reſolved to build his own power on the downfal of his country. He was ſingularly formed, both by art and nature, to conduct a conſpiracy: he was poſſeſſed of courage equal to the moſt deſperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition: ruined in his fortunes, profligate in his manners, and vigilant in purſuing his aims, he was inſatiable after wealth, only with a view to laviſh it in guilty pleaſures: in ſhort, as Salluſt deſcribes him, he was a compound of oppoſite paſſions; intemperate to exceſs, yet patient of labour to a wonder; ſevere with the virtuous, debauched with the gay; ſo that he had all the vicious for his friends by inclination; and he attached even ſome of the good, by the ſpecious ſhew of pretended virtue.

However, his real character was at length very well known at Rome; he had been accuſed of debauching a veſtal virgin; he was ſuſpected of murdering his ſon, to gratify a criminal paſſion; and it was notorious, that in the proſcription of Sylla, he had killed his own brother, to make his court to that tyrant.

Catiline having contracted many debts by the looſeneſs of ſuch an ill-ſpent life, was reſolved to extricate himſelf from them by any means, however unlawful: his firſt aim therefore, was at the conſulſhip, in which he hoped to repair his ſhattered fortune, by the plunder of the provinces; but in this he was fruſtrated. This diſgrace ſo operated upon a mind naturally warm, that he inſtantly entered into an aſſociation with Piſo and ſome others, of deſperate fortunes like himſelf, in which he had reſolved to kill the conſuls that had been lately choſen, with ſeveral other ſenators, and to ſhare the government among themſelves. Theſe deſigns, however, were diſcovered before they were ripe for action, and the ſenate took care to obviate their effects. Some time after, he again ſued for the conſulſhip, and was again diſappointed; the great Cicero, whoſe character will be given hereafter, being preferred before him. Enraged at theſe repeated mortifications, he breathed nothing but revenge: his deſign was, had he then obtained the conſulſhip, and with it the com-

mand

mand of the armies of the empire, to have ſeized upon the liberties of his country, and governed alone. At length, impatience, under his diſappointments would not permit him to wait for the ripening of his ſchemes; wherefore he formed the mad reſolution of uſurping the empire, though yet without means adequate to the execution.

Many of thoſe who were in the former conſpiracy of Piſo, ſtill remained attached to his intereſts: theſe he aſſembled, to about the number of thirty, when he informed them of his intentions and his hopes, ſettled a plan of operations, and fixed the day for the execution. It was reſolved among them, that a general inſurrection ſhould be raiſed throughout Italy, the different parts of which were aſſigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in ſeveral places at once; and Catiline at the head of an army raiſed in Etruria, was, in the general confuſion, to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, and maſſacre all the ſenators. Lentulus, one of his profligate aſſiſtants, who had been prætor or judge in the city, was to preſide in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who ſacrificed the poſſeſſion of great preſent power, to the hopes of gratifying his revenge againſt Cicero, was to direct the maſſacre through the city; and Cæſius was to conduct thoſe who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obſtacle

to their deſigns, Catiline was very deſirous to ſee him taken off before he left Rome; upon which, two knights of the company undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early viſit on pretence of buſineſs. The meeting, however, was no ſooner over, than Cicero had information of all that paſſed in it; for, by the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conſpirators, to ſend him a punctual account of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himſelf againſt the deſigns of his morning viſitors, who were punctual to the appointment, he next took care to provide for the defence of the city, and aſſembling the ſenate, conſulted what was beſt to be done in this time of danger. The firſt ſtep taken, was to offer conſiderable rewards for further diſcoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the ſtate. Catiline, to ſhew how well he could diſſemble or juſtifiy any crime, went boldly to the ſenate, declaring his innocence, and offering to give any ſecurity for his behaviour. Theſe profeſſions, urged with an apparent humility, gained over many of the Roman ſenators; but Cicero, incenſed at his effrontery, inſtead of purſuing the buſineſs of the day, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to Catiline, broke out into a moſt ſevere invective againſt him. The ſpeech is ſtill remaining, in which, with all the fire of incenſed

incenſed eloquence, he lays open the whole courſe of Catiline's crimes, and the particulars of his preſent impeachment.

When Cicero was ſeated, Catiline roſe in his turn, and, with well prepared diſſimulation, and a dejected countenance, beſought the ſenate not to credit vain reports concerning him; nor believe that a perſon of his rank, whoſe anceſtors, and whoſe ſervices deſerved rather fame than cenſure, would be guilty of ſuch vile imputations. While he was continuing his defence, and beginning to introduce ſome reflections againſt the conſul, the chief of which was the obſcurity of his original, the ſenate refuſed to hear him; whereupon he declared aloud, That ſince he was denied the liberty of vindicating himſelf, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguiſh the flame which was raiſed about him, if the conſequence ſhould prove univerſal ruin: thus ſaying, he ruſhed out of the aſſembly, threatening deſtruction to all his oppoſers. As ſoon as he had returned to his houſe, and began to reflect on what had paſſed, he perceived it vain to diſſemble any longer; wherefore, reſolving to enter at once into action, before the commonwealth was prepared to oppoſe him, after a ſhort conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night, with a ſmall retinue, to haſten towards Etruria, where Manilius, one of the conſpirators, was raiſing an army to ſupport him.

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In the mean time, Cicero took proper precautions to ſecure all thoſe of the conſpiracy who remained in Rome; and induced the people, by the power of his eloquence, to ſecond his deſigns. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cæſius, and ſeveral others, were put in confinement; and it was propounded to the ſenate, what courſe ſhould be taken with the priſoners. The principal evidences againſt them were the ambaſſadors of the Allobroges; a fierce people inhabiting the countries now called Dauphiny and Savoy; who declared, that they had been applied to, by the conſpirators, to furniſh a body of horſe whenever the war ſhould begin; but that, being apprehenſive of the danger, they had declined the propoſal; at the ſame time producing the letters of Lentulus to them for that purpoſe, marked with his own ſeal.

Upon this, a great debate aroſe concerning the puniſhment of the priſoners; a deliberation of great delicacy and importance. Capital puniſhments were rare, and even odious in Rome; while, on the other hand the crimes of which they were convicted, required, a quick and exemplary puniſhment. Silanus the enſuing year's conſul, was of opinion, that they ſhould be put to death. To this, all who ſpoke after him readily aſſented, till it came to Julius Cæſar's turn to deliver his opinion. This extraordinary man, who was choſen

ſen prætor for the enſuing year, had, from the beginning of his life, marked out a way to univerſal empire; and now thought, that a ſhew of clemency upon this occaſion, would conciliate the favour of the people. It is ſuppoſed alſo by ſome, that he ſecretly favoured the conſpiracy, and only waited for its firſt ſucceſſes, to put himſelf at its head. He, therefore, obſerved, in an elegant and elaborate ſpeech (for of all orators in the commonwealth, Cicero alone excelled him) that thoſe who opined for death, were on the merciful ſide, ſince death was but the relief of the miſerable, and left no ſenſe of good or ill beyond it. The heinouſneſs of the preſent crime, he ſaid, might juſtify any ſeverity; but the example was dangerous in a free ſtate, where power ſometimes happened to fall into bad hands. Though no danger could be apprehended from ſuch a conſul as Cicero, yet, in other times, and under other conſuls, none could ſay how far juſtice might ſtop ſhort of cruelty: his opinion, therefore, was that the conſpirators ſhould be ſentenced to perpetual confinement. His ſpeech, delivered with all the arts of a complete orator, ſeemed to make great impreſſion on the aſſembly: Silanus began to excuſe and mitigate the ſeverity of his former ſentence; and even the friends of the conſul were almoſt convinced, when Porcius Cato, at laſt, ſtood up to oppoſe it; no two characters could

could be more oppoſite, than his to that of the former ſpeaker. Cæſar was merciful, gentle, and inſinuating; Cato ſevere, forceful, and overbearing; Cæſar loved his country, in hopes one day to govern it; Cato loved it more than other countries, only becauſe he thought it more free; the one ſcrupled no means, however illicit, to attain his ends; the other laboured but to one end, by one way, the moſt exalted juſtice conducting him to the moſt inflexible virtue.

In fact, the opinions of the Greek philoſophers began to influence the diſpoſitions of the great men of the time; ſo that Cæſar was a follower of Epicurus, and Cato was a rigid ſtoic. He began therefore, by deſcribing Cicero as he really was; a man dignified with almoſt every virtue conducive to his own happineſs, together with all the talents that could improve happineſs in others. He proceeded, by wondering how any debate could ariſe about puniſhing men who had begun an actual war upon their country: that he had never pardoned in himſelf the very wanderings of his heart; and could not eaſily forgive the moſt flagitious actions in others: that they were not deliberating on the fate of the priſoners only, but on that of Catiline's whole army, which would be animated or dejected, in proportion to the vigour of their decrees: wherefore his opinion was, ſince the criminals had been convicted both by teſtimony and their own confeſſion, that they ſhould ſuffer death,

death, according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors, in circumſtances of the like nature. His ſpeech was ſeconded by another, ſtill more forceful, from Cicero; and theſe carried ſuch conviction, that they put an end to the debate. The vote, for the death of the conſpirators, was no ſooner paſſed, than Cicero reſolved to put it in execution, leſt the night, which was coming on ſhould produce any new diſturbance. Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt, were therefore, taken from their reſpective ſureties, conducted by the chief magiſtrates, and delivered to the executioners, who immediately ſtrangled them in priſon.

In the mean time, Catiline had raiſed an army of twelve thouſand men; of which a fourth part only was completely armed; the reſt being furniſhed with what chance afforded, darts, lances, and clubs. He refuſed, at firſt to inliſt ſlaves, who flocked to him in great numbers, truſting to the proper ſtrength of the conſpiracy: but upon the approach of the conſul, who was ſent againſt him, and the arrival of intelligence that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs was entirely altered. His firſt attempt, therefore, was, by long marches, to make his eſcape over the Apennines into Gaul; but in this his hopes were diſappointed, all the paſſes being ſtrictly guarded by an army under Metellus, ſuperior

to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every ſide, and ſeeing all things deſperate, with nothing left him, but either to die or conquer, he reſolved to make one vigorous effort againſt that army which purſued him. Antonius, the conſul, being ſick the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Petreius, who after a fierce and bloody action, in which he loſt a conſiderable part of his beſt troops, deſtroyed Catiline and his whole army, which fought deſperately to the laſt man; they all fell in the very ranks in which they ſtood when alive; and, as if inſpired with the ſpirit of their leader, fought not ſo much to conquer, as to ſell a bloody victory, and to mingle public calamity with their private ruin. The commonwealth being thus freed from their apprehenſions of danger unanimouſly concurred in their Applauſes of Cicero, whoſe counſels had been the chief means of removing them. Publick thanks were decreed him by the ſenate, and, at the inſtance of Cato, he was ſtiled the Father of his country; the people, with loud acclamations, confirming the juſtice of the decree.

The extinction of this conſpiracy ſeemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men of the ſtate to diſplay itſelf in. Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the Eaſt, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa. Every eye was fixed

upon him, as being the moſt powerful man in the ſtate, and capable of governing it at his pleaſure. His ſucceſs in war had procured him the ſurname of Great, and he was ſtill more pleaſed with the title than the conſciouſneſs of deſerving it. This was the poſt his ambition aimed at; he ſeemed more deſirous of being the leader than the ruler of his country; of being applauded than obeyed. He had it often in his power to make himſelf maſter of the ſtate, by force; but he either declined the fatigue of it, or lived in perpetual expectation of receiving as a gift, what he did not chooſe to extort by violence. His parts were ſpecious rather than penetrating; and his chief inſtrument in governing was diſſimulation: but being a better ſoldier than ſtateſman, he was adored abroad, and gained in the camp that homage which was denied him at home.

The firſt thing he did upon his return, was, to direct the election of both the conſuls, by whoſe help he hoped he ſhould readily obtain the ratification of all that he had diſpoſed of in Aſia; together with a diſtribution of lands to his ſoldiers, of part of the countries they had conquered. However, he was diſappointed in both theſe expectations; the ſenate, who began to ſee and dread his power, were deſirous of leſſening it by every oppoſition. The conſuls oppoſed him upon all occaſions, and were ſeconded

ſeconded by all thoſe who were not the avowed inſtruments of his party. The tribune, Flavius, who was the promoter of the law, impatient of the delay, and animated by Pompey's power, had the hardineſs to commit Metellus the conſul to priſon; and when all the ſenate followed and reſolved to go to priſon with him, the tribune placed his chair againſt the door, to keep them out; this violence, however, gave ſuch offence to the people, that Pompey found it adviſeable to draw off the tribune, and releaſe the conſul. From this oppoſition in the ſenate, he began to find, that his own intereſt alone would not be ſufficient to rule the commonwealth, without including ſome of the moſt powerful men of the ſtate, not as partners to divide his power, but as inſtruments to aſſiſt it.

Craſſus, as we have already obſerved, was the richeſt man in Rome; and next to Pompey, poſſeſſed of the greateſt authority: his party in the ſenate was even ſtronger than that of his rival, and the envy raiſed againſt him was leſs. He and Pompey had been long diſunited by an oppoſition of intereſts, and of characters; however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealouſies, that the ſtate was in ſome meaſure to expect its future ſafety. It was in this ſituation of things, that Julius Cæſar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, reſolved to convert

convert their mutual jealouſy to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius, by the female line, and deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome: he had already mounted by the regular gradations of office; having been quæſtor, ædile, and grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being deſcended from popular anceſtors, he warmly eſpouſed the ſide of the people, and ſhortly after the death of Sylla procured thoſe whom he had baniſhed to be recalled. He had conſtantly declared for the populace againſt the ſenate, and conſequently became their favourite magiſtrate. He had received proper intelligence during his adminiſtration in Spain, of what was tranſacting at Rome, and reſolved to return to improve occurrences in his favour. His ſervices in Spain had deſerved a triumph, and his ambition aſpired to the conſulſhip. However, it was contrary to law for him to enjoy both; for to obtain the conſulſhip, he muſt come into the city, and by entering the city, he was diſqualified for a triumph. In this dilemma, he preferred ſolid power to empty parade, and determined to ſtand for the conſulſhip; at the ſame time, reſolving to attach the two moſt powerful men in the ſtate to him, by effecting their reconciliation. He accordingly began, by offering his ſervices to Pompey, promiſing him his aid in having all his acts paſſed, notwith-

ſtanding the ſenate's oppoſition. Pompey, pleaſed with the acquiſition of a perſon of ſo much merit readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Craſſus, who, from former connections, was diſpoſed to become ſtill more nearly his friend: at length, finding neither averſe to an union of intereſts, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and remonſtrating to them the advantage, as well as the neceſſity of a reconciliation, had art enough to perſuade them to forget former animoſities. A combination was thus formed, by which they agreed, that nothing ſhould be done in the commonwealth, but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the Firſt Triumvirate, by which we find the conſtitution weakened by a new intereſt, that had not hitherto taken place in the government, very different from that of the ſenate or the people, and yet dependent on both. A power like this, however, as it depended upon the nice conduct of different intereſts, could not be of long continuance; and, in fact, was ſoon after ſwallowed up in the military power, which deſtroyed even the ſhadow of liberty.

CHAP. XV.

From the Beginning of the firſt Triumvirate to the Death of Pompey.

THE commonwealth might at this time be conſidered, as compoſed of three different bodies, each purſuing ſeparate intereſts. The triumvirate aiming at ſovereign authority, and deſirous, by depreſſing the ſenate and alluring the people, to extend their own influence. The ſenate, equally apprehenſive of the three great men who controlled them, and of the people who oppoſed them, formed a middle intereſt between both; and, deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing the ariſtocracy which had been ſet up by Sylla, gave their ſtruggles the name of freedom. The people, on the other hand, were deſirous of freedom in the moſt extenſive ſenſe, and, with a fatal blindneſs, only apprehenſive of the invaſion of it from the ſide of the ſenate, gave all their influence to the triumvirate, whoſe promiſes were great, and pretences ſpecious. U. C. 694.

The firſt thing Cæſar did, upon being taken into the triumvirate, was to avail himſelf of the intereſt of his confederates to obtain the conſulſhip. The ſenate had ſtill ſome ſmall influence left; and though they were obliged to concur in chooſing him, yet they gave him for a colleague, one Bibulus, who they ſuppoſed

would be a check upon his power; but the oppoſition was too ſtrong for even ſuperior abilities to reſiſt it; ſo that Bibulus, after a ſlight attempt in favour of the ſenate, remained inactive the ſucceeding part of the year. Cæſar, however, was by no means ſo; but began his ſchemes for empire, by ingratiating himſelf with the people. He preferred a law for dividing certain lands in Campania, among ſuch of the poor citizens as had at leaſt three children. This propoſal was juſt enough in itſelf, and only criminal from the views of the oppoſer. The ſenate being reſolved to oppoſe him in all his ſchemes, endeavoured to thwart him in this, which only ſerved to exaſperate the people ſtill more againſt them. The multitude drove them by force from the place of aſſembling: Cato and Bibulus, who were moſt active againſt the law, were compelled to retire; and the reſt of the ſenate were obliged to take an oath, to confirm the obſervance of it. During this ſtruggle, Pompey and Craſſus became the dupes of their aſſociate, driving the law forward with all their activity and intereſt: the former publickly declared, that if any would come (as he was informed they would) with ſwords to oppoſe it, he would be the firſt to lift up his ſhield in its defence. By this conduct he loſt all his former influence in the ſenate, while Cæſar alone gained all the popularity of a law, which was of his own propoſing. From that time he acted entirely without

without the aſſiſtance of his colleague, ſo that it was jeſtingly called the conſulſhip of Julius and Cæſar; intimating that all things were done only by him.

Having thus ingratiated himſelf with the people, his next ſtep was to procure the favour of the knights, who were a very powerful body in the ſtate. They had for many years been the financers or farmers of the public revenue, and by that means had acquired vaſt riches; however, they now began to complain of their inability to pay the ſtipulated ſums into the treaſury. Cæſar, therefore, procured a law to abate a third part of their diſburſements, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ſenate. In this manner, having advanced his influence among the lower orders of the ſtate, he determined to attach Pompey ſtill more cloſely to him, by giving him his daughter Julia in marriage; a woman with every accompliſhment that could tend to cement their confederacy.

Thus ſtrengthened at home, he next deliberated with his confederates, about ſharing the foreign provinces of the empire between them. The partition was ſoon made: Pompey choſe Spain for his own part; for being fatigued with conqueſt, and ſatiated with military fame, he choſe to take his pleaſures at Rome; and there being no appearance of revolt in his province, he knew it could be eaſily governed by his lieutenant. Craſſus choſe Syria for his part of the

empire; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had ſubdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this his moſt favourite purſuit. To Cæſar was left the provinces of Gaul; compoſed of many fierce and powerful nations; moſt of them unſubdued, and the reſt only profeſſing a nominal ſubjection. Wherefore, as it was rather appointing him to conquer than command, this government was granted for five years; as if, by its continuance, to compenſate for its danger. Having thus divided the empire between them, they each prepared for their reſpective deſtinations; but previous to Cæſar's ſetting out, there was ſtill an obſtacle that ſeemed to blaſt his aims, and which he wiſhed to have removed. This was Tullius Cicero, whom we have already ſeen, by his penetration and eloquence, defeating the conſpiracy of Catiline, and who continued a watchful guardian over the liberties of Rome. This great orator and ſtateſman, or, to give him an higher appellation, this excellent philoſopher, had, from a very humble original, raiſed himſelf to the foremoſt rank of the ſtate: he was endowed with all the wiſdom and all the virtues that could adorn a man. However, his wiſdom, by directing his views over too wide a ſphere, often overlooked thoſe advantages, which were clearly diſcerned by ſhort-ſighted cunning; and his virtues by being applauded by others, and receiving his own conſcious approbation, tinctured his

mind

mind with vanity. He ſeemed, in his general conduct, guilty of a fault too common with men of great abilities; a deſire of uniting in himſelf incompatible qualities, which gave an air of ridicule to his greateſt actions. Thus while he aimed at being the firſt orator in the ſtate, he was eager alſo to be thought the beſt jeſter; while he taught men to contemn vanity, he was ſeen earneſtly intriguing for the honour of a triumph, which, however, he had done nothing to merit. Though no man ſaw the corruptions of the times more clearly than he, yet he had hopes of governing ſo corrupt a commonwealth without fraud. Though he ſaw through every perſon he converſed with, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be the dupe of many, rather than recede from the rectitude of his aims. It was no wonder, therefore, that Cæſar was deſirous of expelling ſuch a character from the republick, which was ſo unlike his own. To effect this, he reſolved to take into his party Publius Clodius, a man of patrician birth, diſſolute manners, great popularity, and an inveterate enemy of Cicero. Beſides an oppoſition of character, a principal cauſe of their enmity was, Cicero's having formerly appeared againſt him upon his trial before the people, for an offence againſt the matrons of Rome, whoſe myſteries he had intruded upon, dreſſed in women's clothes. He was at this time a tribune of the people, although he had been obliged to get himſelf adopted by a ple-

beian, before he could obtain that office. The hopes of revenging himſelf upon Cicero, in ſome meaſure incited him to ſtand for it; and the concurrence of Cæſar and Pompey with his pretenſions, ſoon aſſured him of ſucceſs. He, therefore publickly began to accuſe Cicero, for having put the late conſpirators to death; who being citizens ought to have been adjudged by the people. Cicero, terrified at this accuſation, did all that lay in his power to oppoſe it. He applied to Cæſar to be taken as his lieutenant into Gaul; but Clodius had art enough to divert him from that deſign, by pretending that his reſentment was rather a matter of form than of revenge. Pompey, too, contributed to put him off his guard by a promiſe of protection; ſo that the cunning of theſe men of moderate abilities was more than a match for the wiſdom of the philoſopher. Clodius, having firſt cauſed a law to be enacted, importing that any who had condemned a Roman citizen unheard, ſhould himſelf be baniſhed, ſoon after impeached Cicero upon it. It was in vain that this great man went up and down the city, ſolliciting his cauſe in the habit of a ſuppliant, and attended by many of the firſt young noblemen whom he had taught the rules of eloquence: thoſe powers of ſpeaking which had been ſo often ſucceſsful in defending the cauſe of others, ſeemed totally to forſake him in his own;

own; he was baniſhed, by the votes of the people, four hundred miles from Italy; his houſes were ordered to be demoliſhed, and his goods ſet up to ſale. None now remained that could defend the part of the ſenate but Cato; and he was ſhortly after ſent into Cyprus, under pretence of doing him a favour; but, in reality, in order to leave an open theatre for the triumvirate to act in. Cæſar, during theſe intrigues, pretended to be an unconcerned ſpectator, and to be wholly occupied in his preparations for going into Gaul. He, in fact, left nothing undone, that might advance the ſpeed, or increaſe the ſtrength of this expedition; wherefore, leaving Pompey to guard their mutual intereſts at home, he marched into his province at the head of four legions, that were granted him by the ſenate, and two more that were lent him by his new aſſociate in the empire.

It would be impoſſible, in the narrow compaſs which I have aſſigned myſelf, to enumerate all the battles Cæſar fought, and the ſtates he ſubdued, in his expeditions into Gaul and Britain, which continued eight years. He has himſelf given a detail of them in his Commentaries, a work which does as much honour to his abilities as a writer, as his conduct did to his talents as a general. To abridge ſuch a work, is but to deſtroy it; to turn it into a dry catalogue of names, that ceaſe to intereſt; and of battles that

would appear too much alike: it will be ſufficient juſt to mention thoſe victories which a great and experienced general, at the head of a diſciplined army, gained over the barbarous and tumultuary, though numerous, forces that were led to oppoſe him. The Helvetians were the firſt who were brought into ſubjection, with the loſs of near two hundred thouſand men; thoſe who remained after the carnage, were ſent, by Cæſar, in ſafety to their foreſts, from whence they had iſſued. The Germans, with Arioviſtus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thouſand; their monarch himſelf narrowly eſcaping in a little boat acroſs the Rhine. The Belgæ were deſtroyed with ſuch great ſlaughter, that marſhes and deep rivers were rendered paſſable by the heaps of ſlain. The Nervians, who were the moſt warlike of thoſe barbarous nations, made head for a ſhort time, and fell upon the Romans with ſuch fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæſar haſtily catching up a buckler ruſhed through his army iuto the midſt of the enemy; by which means the face of affairs was ſo effectually changed, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at ſea, were next brought under ſubjection. And after them, the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Britiſh ſea.

From thence, ſtimulated by the deſire of conqueſt, he croſſed over into Britain, upon pretence, that the natives had furniſhed his enemies with ſupplies. Upon approaching the ſhores, he found them covered with men to oppoſe his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped aſhore, and, being ſupported by Cæſar, the natives were put to flight. The Britons, being terrified at Cæſar's power, ſent to deſire a peace, which was granted them, and ſome hoſtages delivered. A ſtorm, however, ſoon after deſtroying great part of his fleet, they reſolved to take advantage of the diſaſter, and marched againſt him with a powerful army. But what could a naked undiſciplined army do againſt forces that had been exerciſed under the greateſt generals, and hardened by the conqueſt of the greateſt part of the world? Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to ſue for peace; which Cæſar granted them, and then returned to the continent. But his abſence once more inſpired this people, naturally fond of liberty, with a reſolution to diſclaim the Roman power; and in a ſecond expedition, by repeated victories, Cæſar ſo intimidated their general Caſſibelanus, that he no longer endeavoured to reſiſt in the plains, but, keeping in the foreſts, ſeemed reſolved to protract the war. However, Cæſar purſuing him cloſely,

cloſely, and croſſing the Thames with his army, ſo ſtraitened him, that he was obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror's conditions, who impoſed an annual tribute, and took hoſtages for the payment of it. Thus, in leſs than nine years, he conquered, together with Britain, all that country which extends from the Mediterranean to the German ſea. It is ſaid, that, in theſe expeditions, he took eight hundred cities; ſubdued three hundred different ſtates; overcame three millions of men; one of which fell on the field of battle, and one was made priſoners of war. Theſe conqueſts, and this deſtruction of mankind, may, in the preſent advancement of morals, be regarded with deteſtation; but they were regarded as the height of human virtue, at the time they were achieved. In fact, if we examine Cæſar's great aſſiduity in providing for his army, his ſkill in diſpoſing them for battle, and his amazing intrepidity during the engagement, we ſhall not find a greater general in all antiquity. But in one thing he excelled all, with inconteſtible ſuperiority; namely, in his humanity to the vanquiſhed. This ſeemed a virtue but little known to the times he lived in, ſo that mankind were then more obliged to heroes than they at preſent chooſe to confeſs; almoſt each of whom has introduced and given ſanction to ſome new virtues, which philoſophers might have ſpeculatively applauded before, but could never have

have had influence to make popular, without ſuch an example.

While Cæſar was thus increaſing his reputation and riches abroad, Pompey, who remained all the time in Rome, ſteadily co-operated with his ambition, and advanced his intereſts, while he vainly ſuppoſed he was forwarding his own. Upon the firſt news of his great exploits, he procured a decree of the ſenate for a ſolemn feſtival of fifteen days; which was doing Cæſar greater honour than any general had received before him. When Cæſar after remaining in Gaul three years, paſſed over into Italy, to relax himſelf for a while from his fatigues, in order to renew the next campaign with great vigour, Pompey, together with Craſſus, took a journey from Rome to meet him; and there, when Cæſar pleaded the neceſſity of being continued in his command, his aſſociates reſolved to endeavour at the conſulſhip for the next year, in order to keep him in his province for five years longer. This deſign was ſo diſpleaſing to the ſenate, and the diſſentions ſo violent concerning it, that they went into mourning, as in a caſe of public calamity. Cato did all that lay in his power to oppoſe their aims, declaring upon every occaſion, that the liberty of Rome was in danger; he even procured one Domitius to offer himſelf a candidate, againſt the intereſt of the whole triumvirate.

umvirate. Pompey, however, knew how little the indignation of the ſenate could avail againſt the power he was already poſſeſſed of; wherefore he ſent a body of armed men againſt Domitius, as he was going to offer himſelf at the election. Theſe killed the ſlave that preceded him, and then diſperſed the company; Cato being wounded, and Domitius hardly eſcaping with life. By this violence, Pompey becoming maſter of the ſuffrages, he and Craſſus were declared conſuls, and in conſequence of this promotion, Cæſar was continued five years longer in Gaul; Craſſus was appointed to Syria, where, as we have ſaid, he expected to reap an harveſt rather of wealth than of glory; and Pompey was fixed in his government of Spain, which he governed wholly by his lieutenants, pretending that he could not leave Rome, becauſe of the general charge of proviſions which was committed to his care; an office procured him by Cicero, who was lately recalled from baniſhment by his influence, the popularity of Clodius having given him ſome umbrage.

In this manner Pompey continued to dictate to the ſenate, and to exerciſe his authority rather than increaſe it. But he began at laſt to be rouzed from his lethargy, by the riſing reputation of Cæſar. The fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began ſecretly to give him pain. He feared nothing ſo much as

an equal in point of glory; and yet, by his own arts, he had raiſed Cæſar's ſo high, that he was threatened with a ſuperior. He, therefore, began to do all in his power to diminiſh Cæſar's reputation, obliging the magiſtrates not to publiſh any letters they received from him, till he had diminiſhed the credit of them, by ſpreading diſadvantageous reports. While every thing portended a rupture between theſe ambitious men, accident helped to widen the ſeparation, by the death of Julia, Pompey's wife; who had not a little contributed to improve the harmony that ſubſiſted between them. From this moment, Pompey reſolved to purſue his own advancement, and to depreſs that of his rival.

However, this great man for ſome time concealed his intention; but another fatal accident contributed to haſten the rupture between him and Cæſar: this was the death of Craſſus. He had eagerly engaged in a war with the Parthians, hoping, by the reduction of ſo powerful a nation, to ſatiate his avarice, gratify his ambitious views, and render himſelf equal to his two aſſociates in military glory. He conducted the war with ſo little prudence, that he ſuffered the enemy to get the advantage of him in almoſt every ſkirmiſh; incapable of extricating himſelf from the difficulties in which he was involved, and deaf to the advice of his friends, he fell a ſacrifice to his own raſhneſs, and the treachery of the Parthians.

He

He was killed bravely defending himſelf to the laſt: with him periſhed the flower of the Roman army.

Upon the death of Craſſus, the two remaining triumvirs were in a condition to puſh their pretenſions to extremity, as there was now no umpire between them; nor any man conſiderable enough to counterbalance their exorbitant power.

Notwithſtanding Pompey's reſolution to leſſen the authority of Cæſar, upon examination of his ſtrength, he found his efforts were now too late. Cæſar was in poſſeſſion of that popularity which it had been the buſineſs of his life to obtain: he was loved almoſt to adoration by his army; whoſe attachment he had gained by his humanity and great rewards: he ſeemed to acquire immenſe riches, only to beſtow them on the braveſt and moſt deſerving of his ſoldiers: he paid the debts of many of his officers; and gave them every motive to wean their love from the publick, to place it on their commander. Nor were his attentions fixed upon his ſoldiers alone, but extended to his partizans in the city; he pillaged the wealth of his provinces, to ſpread it among the citizens of Rome; and gave even his rapine an air of generoſity.

All this was frequently told to Pompey; who found, at laſt, that he had committed a fatal overſight. He longed to reſume that power which others had ſhared; and an opportunity ſoon offered of obtaining his deſire. As all elections had, for many

many years been carried on by ſedition and bribery; there ſeemed about that time to be a total ceſſation of authority, no magiſtrates having been elected for the ſpace of eight months. This ſtate of anarchy was heightened by the death of Clodius, who was killed by Milo, in the country as he was upon his return to town. As Clodius had been always a favourite of the people, his body was immediately brought to Rome, and expoſed publickly to view. Nothing more was requiſite to kindle a tumult; the multitude ran furiouſly to Milo's houſe, to ſet it on fire; but being defended by his partizans, Milo repulſed them with great ſlaughter. U. C. 701.

Returning to the dead body, they drew it to the ſenate-houſe, and their making a pile of the ſeats of the magiſtrates, conſumed the body and that ſtately building together. After this, the mutineers diſperſed themſelves all over the city, where, under pretence of ſearching for Milo's friends they committed the greateſt outrages that unlicenſed fury could ſuggeſt. Thus every ſtreet was filled with murthers and quarrels, while none could walk from their own houſes in ſafety. In this univerſal tumult and diſtraction all eyes were turned upon Pompey, to reſtore tranquillity, and give the ſufferers redreſs. Many were for creating him dictator; but Cato, unwilling to endanger the ſtate by

entruſting the greateſt power to the moſt unbounded ambition, prevailed, that, inſtead of being created dictator he ſhould be made ſole conſul; which differed from the former office in one material circumſtance, that he was accountable for mal-adminiſtration, upon the reſignation of his employment. In conſequence of this acceſſion of power, a body of troops were allotted Pompey; a thouſand talents were granted to ſubſiſt them; the government of Spain was continued to him for four years longer; while Milo was tried for having killed Clodius, and condemned to baniſhment, even though Cicero undertook to defend him. It ſeems, the tribunal from whence he harangued the populace, was ſurrounded by the conſul's ſoldiers, ſo that he was quite intimidated, and unable to proceed with his uſual impetuoſity. Pompey, who had hitherto acted alone, then took Metellus for his colleague, whoſe daughter Cornelia he had lately married; a woman of great merit and beauty; and by this new alliance, he ſuppoſed he had confirmed his former authority.

Cæſar, who now began to be ſenſible of the jealouſies of Pompey, took occaſion, from the many honours which the latter had juſt received, to ſollicit for the conſulſhip in his turn, together with a prolongation of his government in Gaul, deſirous of trying whether Pompey would thwart or promote his pretenſions. In this

Pompey

Pompey ſeemed to be quite inactive; but at the ſame time, privately employed two of his creatures, who alledged in the ſenate, that the laws did not permit a perſon that was abſent, to offer himſelf as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view was, to allure Cæſar from his government, in order to ſtand for the conſulſhip in perſon. Cæſar, however, perceiving his artifice, choſe to remain in his province; convinced, that, while he headed ſuch an army as was now devoted to his intereſts, he could, at any time, give laws as well as magiſtrates to the ſtate.

The ſenate, which were devoted to Pompey, becauſe he had for ſome time attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, demanded the two legions which were in Cæſar's army, belonging to Pompey, as it was pretended to oppoſe the Parthians, but in reality, to diminiſh Cæſar's power. Cæſar eaſily ſaw their motive; but, as his plans were not yet ready for execution, he ſent them home, in purſuance of the orders of the ſenate, having previouſly attached the officers to him with benefits, and the ſoldiers with a bounty. The next ſtep the ſenate took, was to recall Cæſar from his government, as his time was very near expiring. Every perſon perceived the danger the ſtate was in, from the continuance of his command over an army entirely devoted to

his intereſts, and become almoſt invincible by long experience. It was the general ſenſe, therefore of the fathers, that Cæſar ſhould return: and ſome went ſo far, as to talk of bringing him to an account for the large ſums of money he had extorted from the provinces of Gaul. But Cæſar was not without his friends in the ſenate: among the reſt, Curio, who had lately been elected a tribune of the people, and had been bribed to his intereſts, ſecretly favoured his cauſe. Curio was a man of ſtrong eloquence, great reſolution, loaded with debts, and deeply engaged to Cæſar, for extricating him from a part of them: he, therefore, pretended highly to approve the reſolutions of the ſenate, and aſſerted, that he could never think liberty ſecure, while ſuch armies were in readineſs to deſtroy it, whenever their leaders ſhould give the word of command: but then, he thought the chief ſecurity of the ſtate depended upon the fear which theſe armies, whether in Spain, Gaul, or Italy, ſtood in of each other. It was, therefore, his opinion, that Cæſar ſhould not leave his army, till Pompey had ſet him the example. This was a propoſal, which Pompey had by no means been prepared for: his friends alledged, that his time was not yet expired; but this not ſatisfying the tribune, Pompey obſerved, that he had taken up his offices at the command of the ſenate; and that he was ready

ready to reſign them, whenever his employers thought proper: that he knew Cæſar, with whoſe friendſhip and alliance he had been made happy, would not heſitate to do the ſame, when he knew the ſenate had appointed him a ſucceſſor.

Curio perceived the art of Pompey, whoſe only aim was to have a ſucceſſor actually nominated; he therefore replied, that in order to ſhow the ſincerity of his profeſſions, it was not enough to promiſe to reſign his government; but at that inſtant, to perform a thing he had it ſo eaſily in in his power to do: he added, that both were too powerful; and that it was for the intereſt of the commonwealth, that they ſhould return to their former privacy. He concluded with ſaying, that there was no other method left for publick ſecurity, but to order both to lay down their commands; and to declare him an enemy to his country, who ſhould diſobey. Curio had made this propoſal, with a certainty of its being rejected by Pompey, whom he knew to be too well acquainted with the advantages of command, and too confident of his own ſuperiority over Cæſar, to begin the ſubmiſſion. In fact, he judged very juſtly. Pompey was rendered arrogant, not only by his good fortune, and his preſent honours; but alſo by accounts brought him frequently from Cæſar's army, importing, that his ſoldiers had no eſteem for him; and that they would certainly forſake

him as ſoon as they had croſſed the Alps: all which falſehoods, though merely invented to gain Pompey's favour by ſuiting the account to his inclinations, he readily gave credit to. Nay, to ſuch a pitch of ſelf-ſecurity, did he at laſt make pretenſions, that when Cicero aſked him what forces he had to repel Cæſar, Pompey replied, that, if he only ſtamped with his foot, an army would ſtart up from the ground to oppoſe him. Thus confidence at firſt, and ſhame ſoon after to have been in the wrong, operated ſo powerfully upon Pompey, that he did not prepare for his defence, leſt he ſhould be obliged to acknowledge himſelf in danger.

Curio, having obtained his aims in this particular, diſmiſſed the ſenate, as he was impowered to do by his office; but Marcellus, who was conſul and a creature of Pompey, convoked it immediately after, and then put it to the vote, whether Cæſar ſhould be continued in his government. The whole aſſembly were immediately of opinion that he ſhould be diſcontinued. He then demanded their pleaſure as to Pompey's continuance in the government he enjoyed. The majority declared that it was proper to continue him. Curio then put a third queſtion, whether it would not be moſt expedient to diſcontinue them both: to which three hundered and ſixty of the ſenate aſſented, and twenty two only declared againſt it. Marcellus being thus fruſtrated in his

his views of obtaining the ſanction of the ſenate to continue Pompey in his government, could not contain his reſentment; but riſing in a rage, cried out, "If you will have Cæſar for your maſter, why have him." Upon which one of his own party aſſerting, in order to intimidate the ſenate ſtill more, that Cæſar had paſſed the Alps and marching with his whole army directly towards Rome, the conſul immediately quitting the ſenate, went with his colleague from the city to an houſe where Pompey at that time reſided. He there preſented him with a ſword, commanding him to march againſt Cæſar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey declared he was ready to obey; but with an air of pretended moderation added, that it was only in caſe more gentle expedients could not be employed.

Cæſar, who was inſtructed in all that paſſed, by his partizans at Rome, though he was ſtill in Gaul, was willing to give his actions all the appearance of juſtice. He therefore wrote to the ſenate ſeveral times, deſiring to be continued in his government of Gaul, as Pompey had been in that of Spain; or elſe that he ſhould be permitted to ſtand for the conſulſhip, and his abſence be diſpenſed with. He agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey ſhould do the ſame. But the ſenate, who were devoted to his rival, rejected all his propoſitions, blindly confi-

dent of their own power, and relying on the aſſurances of Pompey. Cæſar, ſtill unwilling to come to an open rupture with the ſtate, at laſt was content to aſk the government of Illyria, with two legions; but this was alſo refuſed him: a fatal obſtinacy had ſeiſed the ſenate, who were determined to ſacrifice his power in order to increaſe that of their preſent favourite: ſo that they attempted to repreſs Cæſar's injuſtice by ſtill greater of their own. Finding all hopes of an accommodation fruitleſs, and conſcious, if not of the goodneſs of his cauſe, at leaſt of the goodneſs of his troops, Cæſar began to draw them towards the confines of Italy, and, paſſing the Alps with his third legion, ſtopped at Ravenna, a city of Ciſalpine Gaul, from whence he once more wrote a letter to the conſuls, declaring, that he was ready to reſign all command, in caſe Pompey did ſo too. But he added, that if all power was to be given to one only, he would endeavour to prevent ſo unjuſt a diſtribution; and declared, that if they perſiſted, he would ſhortly arrive in Rome, to puniſh their injuſtice and the wrongs of his country. The menaces contained in the laſt part of his letter, exaſperated the whole body of the ſenate againſt him. Marcellus the conſul, who, as we have ſaid, was the creature of Pompey, gave way to his rage; while Lentulus his colleague, who, being of wrecked fortune, could expect to loſe nothing by a civil war, openly

openly declared, that, after ſuch an inſult, further deliberation was needleſs; and that there was now more occaſion for arms than for ſuffrages. It was then, after ſome oppoſition, decreed, That Cæſar ſhould lay down his government, and diſband his forces within a limited time; and, if he refuſed obedience, that he ſhould be declared an enemy to the commonwealth. They next gave orders to the conſuls, That the commonwealth ſhould receive no damage; which was the form of inveſting them with abſolute authority, in caſes of immediate danger. After this determination they appointed Domitius, a man of great courage and abilities, to be Cæſar's ſucceſſor in the government of Gaul. Pompey was ordered to put himſelf at the head of what troops were in readineſs; and all thoſe who were under the influence either of him or the ſenate, prepared to take up arms at Rome.

In the mean time, thoſe who had declared themſelves moſt ſtrongly in Cæſar's intereſt, began to fear the conſequences, from the abſolute power granted the conſuls of diſpoſing all things at their pleaſure, and of treating whom they would as enemies to the ſtate. But particularly Curio, with the two tribunes Marcus Antonius and Longinus, ſuppoſed they had reaſon to be apprehenſive. They accordingly fled, diſguiſed as ſlaves, to Cæſar's camp, deploring the injuſtice and tyranny of the ſenate, and

and making a merit of their ſufferings in his cauſe. Cæſar produced them to his army, in the habits which they had thus aſſumed, and ſeemed touched with the ſtrongeſt compaſſion at their treatment, burſt out into ſevere invectives againſt the ſenate, alledging their tyranny over the ſtate, their cruelty to his friends, and their flagrant ingratitude to himſelf for all his paſt ſervices. "Theſe (cried he, pointing to the "tribunes, who were in ſlaves habits) theſe are "the rewards obtained by the faithful ſervants "of their country; men, whoſe perſons are ſacred "by their office, and whoſe characters have been "eſteemed for their virtues; theſe are driven from "their country, obliged for ſafety to appear as "the meaneſt of mankind, to find protection only "in a diſtant province of the empire; for main-"taining the rights of freedom, thoſe rights "which even Sylla, in all the rage of ſlaughter, "durſt not violate." This ſpeech he enforced with the moſt paſſionate geſtures accompanied with tears. The ſoldiers, as if inſpired with one mind, cried out that they were prepared to follow him wherever he ſhould lead, and were ready to die or revenge his injuries. An univerſal acclamation rung through the whole camp; every man prepared for a new ſervice of danger; and, forgetting the toils of ten former campaigns, retired to his tent to meditate on future victory.

When

When the army was thus fit for his purpoſe, Cæſar, at the approach of night, ſat down to table chearfully converſing with his friends on ſubjects of literature and philoſophy, and apparently diſengaged from every ambitious concern: however, after ſome time, riſing up, he deſired the company to make themſelves chearful in his abſence, and that he would be with them in a ſhort time: in the mean time having made the neceſſary preparations, he immediately ſet out, attended by a few friends for Ariminum, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had diſpatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, ſometimes walking, and ſometimes on horſeback, till at the break of day he came up with his army, which conſiſted of about five thouſand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which ſeparates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had been taught to conſider this river as the ſacred boundary of their domeſtick empire; the ſenate had long before made an edict, which is ſtill to be ſeen engraven in the road near Rimini, by which they ſolemnly devoted to the infernal gods, and branded with ſacrilege and parricide, any perſon who ſhould preſume to paſs the Rubicon with an army, a legion, or even a ſingle cohort: Cæſar, therefore, when he advanced at the

the head of his army to the ſide of the river, ſtopped upon the bank, as if impreſſed with terror at the greatneſs of his enterpriſe. The dangers he was to encounter, the ſlaughters that might enſue, the calamities of his native city, all preſented themſelves to his imagination in gloomy perſpective, and ſtruck him with remorſe. He pondered for ſome time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating with himſelf whether he ſhould venture: "If I paſs "this river (ſaid he to one of his generals who "ſtood by him) what miſeries ſhall I bring "upon my country! and, if I ſtop, I am "undone." Thus ſaying, and reſuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in, crying out, That the die was caſt, and all was now over. His ſoldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and quickly arriving at Ariminum, made themſelves maſters of the place without any reſiſtance.

This unexpected enterpriſe excited the utmoſt terrors in Rome, every one imagining that Cæſar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be ſeen the citizens flying into the country for ſafety, and the inhabitants of the country flocking for ſhelter to Rome. In this univerſal confuſion, Pompey felt all that repentance and ſelf-condemnation which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the rememberance of having advanced his rival to his

his preſent pitch of power: wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to accuſe him of ſupineneſs, and ſarcaſtically to reproach his ill-grounded preſumption. "Where is now (cried Favonius, a ridiculous "ſenator of his party) the army that is to riſe "at your command? Let us ſee if it will appear "by ſtamping." Cato reminded him of the many warnings he had given him; which, however, as he was continually boding nothing but calamities, Pompey might very juſtly be excuſed from attending to. But, being at length wearied with theſe reproaches, which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers: he told them that they ſhould not want an army, for that he would be their leader; he confeſſed, indeed, that he had long miſtaken Cæſar's aims, judging of them only from what they ought to be; however, if his friends were ſtill inſpired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their neceſſities ſhould happen to conduct them. He let them know that their affairs were in a very promiſing ſituation; that his two lieutenants were at the head of a conſiderable army in Spain compoſed of veteran troops that had made the conqueſt of the Eaſt; beſides theſe, there were infinite reſources both in Aſia and Africa, together with the ſuccours

they might reaſonably expect from all the kingdoms in alliance with Rome. This ſpeech ſerved, in ſome meaſure, to revive the hopes of the confederacy. The greateſt part of the ſenate, his own private friends and dependents, together with all thoſe who expected to make their fortunes in his cauſe, agreed to follow him. Thus, being in no capacity to reſiſt Cæſar at Rome, he reſolved to lead his forces to Capua, where the two legions that had ſerved under Cæſar in Gaul were ſtationed. His parting from Rome was not a little diſtreſsful to the ſpectators. Ancient ſenators, reſpectable magiſtrates, and many of the flower of the young nobility, obliged thus to leave their native city defenceleſs to the invader, raiſed an univerſal concern in all ranks of people, who followed them part of the way with outcries, tears, and wiſhes for their ſucceſs.

Cæſar, in the mean time, after having vainly attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, was reſolved to purſue him into Capua before he could have time to collect his forces. However, at the very out-ſet, he was in ſome meaſure diſcouraged by the defection of Labienus, aſſociate of all his former victories: this general, either diſguſted at his command, or unwilling to deſolate his native country, went over to the other ſide; but Cæſar, who was not to be intimidated by the loſs of one

man, whoſe abilities himſelf was able to replace, did not ſeem much to regard it; wherefore, ſending all his treaſure after him, he marched on to take poſſeſſion of the cities that lay between him and his rival, not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall of courſe to the conqueror.

Corfinium was the firſt city that attempted to ſtop the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the ſenate to ſucceed him in Gaul, and was garriſoned by twenty cohorts, which were levied in the countries adjacent: Cæſar, however, quickly inveſted it; and, though Domitius ſent frequently to Pompey exhorting him to come and raiſe the ſiege, he was at laſt obliged to endeavour to eſcape privately. His intentions happening to be divulged, the garriſon were reſolved to conſult their own ſafety, by delivering him up to the beſiegers. Cæſar readily accepted their offers, but reſtrained his men from immediately entering into the town. After ſome time, Lentulus, the conſul, who was one of the beſieged, came out, to implore forgiveneſs for himſelf and the reſt of his confederates, reminding Cæſar of their ancient friendſhip, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. To this Cæſar, who would not wait the concluſion of his ſpeech, generouſly replied, That he came into Italy not to injure the liberties of

Rome

Rome and its citizens, but to reſtore them. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the ſenators and the knights, with their children and ſome officers of the garriſon, came out to claim the conqueror's protection, who, juſt glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permiſſion to go whereſoever they ſhould think proper. But while he diſmiſſed the leaders, he, upon this as upon all other occaſions, took care to attach the common ſoldiers to his intereſt, ſenſible that he might ſtand in need of an army; but that, while he lived, his army could never ſtand in need of a commander.

Pompey having intelligence of what paſſed upon this occaſion, immediately retreated to Brunduſium, where he reſolved to ſtand a ſiege, to delay the enemy until the forces of the empire ſhould be united to oppoſe him. Cæſar, as was expected, ſoon arrived before the place; and having accidentally taken one of Pompey's engineers a priſoner, gave him liberty, with orders to perſuade his general, that it might be for the intereſts of both, as well as the advantage of the empire, to have an interview; but to this overture he received no anſwer. He next attempted to block up the harbour; but in this being fruſtrated by the diligence of Pompey, he ſent another propoſal for an interview; to which it was anſwered, that no propoſitions of that kind

kind could be received in the abſence of the conſuls. Thus ſeeing no hopes of concluding their differences by treaty, he turned all his thoughts to carry on the war, which Pompey, on his ſide, reſolved to proſecute with unabating vigour.

His firſt aim in keeping Cæſar ſome time employed before Brunduſium ſucceeded to his wiſh; he, at length, therefore, prepared, with all imaginable caution, to abandon the town, and tranſport his garriſon to Dyracchium, where the new-made conſul, who had been ſent with a part of the troops before him, was levying men for the ſervice of the empire. For this purpoſe, having fortified the harbour in ſuch a manner that the enemy could not eaſily purſue him, he embarked his troops with the utmoſt ſilence and diſpatch, leaving only a few archers and ſlingers on the walls, who were ordered to retreat in ſmall boats provided for that purpoſe, as ſoon as all the heavy infantry were got on board. Cæſar being apprized of their retreat by the inhabitants of the town, who were provoked at the ruin of their houſes, immediately attempted to prevent the embarkation, and was actually going to lead his men over a pitfall, which Pompey had ſecretly placed in his way, had he not been interrupted by the townſmen, who apprized him of his danger. Thus did Pompey, with great ſkill and dili-

gence, make his eſcape, leaving Italy entirely at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army that had ſtrength to oppoſe his progreſs.

Cæſar, finding he could not follow Pompey for want of ſhipping, reſolved to go back to Rome, and take poſſeſſion of the public treaſures, which his opponent, by a moſt unaccountable over-ſight, had neglected taking with him. It might have been alledged, indeed, that as theſe treaſures were conſidered as a ſacred depoſit, and only to be uſed in the laſt extremity, or in caſe of a Gallic invaſion, it would have been thought criminal in Pompey to begin his operations with an act of impiety. Thus it often happens that the weaker ſide, through a fear of diſcrediting their cauſe by any thing irregular, ruin it by unſeaſonable moderation. Cæſar was received at Rome with the repeated acclamations of the lower part of the citizens, and by all his own party; thoſe of the ſenate alſo who were attached to his intereſts aſſembled to congratulate his arrival, to whom he made a plauſible ſpeech, juſtifying his conduct, and profeſſing his averſion to the violent meaſures he had been compelled to adopt. Then, under a pretence that his cauſe was that of juſtice and of the commonwealth, he prepared to poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe treaſures which had been laid up for the uſes of the publick: but upon his coming to the door of the treaſury,

Metellus, the tribune, who guarded it, refuſed to let him paſs, alledging that the money was ſacred, and that horrible imprecations had been denounced againſt ſuch as touched it upon any occaſion but that of a Gallic war. Cæſar, however, was not to be intimidated by his ſuperſtitious remonſtrances, obſerving that there was no occaſion for money to carry on a Gallic war, as he had entirely ſubdued all Gaul already: the tribune then pretending that the keys were miſſing, Cæſar ordered his attendants to break open the doors: but Metellus had ſtill the boldneſs to diſpute even this command; whereupon Cæſar, with more than uſual emotion, laying his hand upon his ſword, threatened to ſtrike him dead; "And know, young man (cried "he) that it is eaſier to do this than to ſay it." This menace had its effect; Metellus retired, and Cæſar took out to the amount of three thouſand pound weight of gold, beſides an immenſe quantity of ſilver; which money was a principal means of promoting his ſucceeding conqueſts. Having thus provided for continuing the war, he departed from Rome, reſolved to ſubdue Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long in Spain at the head of a veteran army.

Much had been expected by the oppoſite party from the army in Spain; it was compoſed of the beſt legions of the empire, and had

been conſtantly victorious under all its commanders. Cæſar, however, who knew the abilities of its two preſent generals, jocoſely ſaid, as he was preparing to go thither, That he went to fight an army without a general, and, upon conquering it, would return to fight a general without an army. However, it may be enquired why Cæſar did not rather purſue Pompey directly, than thus ſtep out of the way, as it were, into Spain, to engage his generals. He had good reaſons; he was ſenſible that if he had overcome Pompey, and driven him out of Greece, where he was then making preparations, he muſt probably have forced him into Spain, where of all places he dreaded moſt to meet him; it was, therefore, prudent, firſt to defeat the army there; and then there was little to be dreaded from the protection it might afterwards afford. Accordingly having refreſhed his men, previous to their ſetting out, he led them once more a long and fatiguing march acroſs the Alps, through the extenſive provinces of Gaul, to meet the enemy in Spain. Indeed when I conſider the amazing length of the way, and the various countries his ſoldiers were to paſs; the mountains they had to aſcend; and the foreſts to cut through; the various climates they were to endure, and the military duties they were to undergo; while every ſentinel wore ſeventy pounds weight of armour, which would be conſidered as a modern

man's load; while, beſides this, each ſoldier was obliged to carry with him ten days proviſion upon the point of his ſpear, and was allowed nothing to drink but vinegar and water on the way; when I conſider, I ſay, the fatigues theſe muſt have undergone, and the length of their continuance, I am ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at their invincible patience and reſolution. Cæſar having left one of his generals, with a part of his army, to beſiege Marſeilles, which refuſed to admit him, proceeded with extreme diligence on his march to Spain; and, to attach his men more firmly to his intereſts, borrowed money from all his officers, which he diſtributed among the ſoldiers: thus engaging the one to him by his liberality, and the other by the expectation of being repaid.

The firſt conflict which he had with Afranius and Petreius was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda, and both ſides claimed the honour of the victory. Nevertheleſs, it appeared ſoon after that Cæſar was reduced to great ſtraights for want of proviſions, which the overflowing of the river and the poſition of the enemy entirely cut off. However, nothing was able to ſubdue his diligence and activity; for cauſing ſlight boats covered with leather to be made, and, on another part, diverting the attention of the enemy, he carried his boats in waggons twenty miles diſtant from the camp,

launched them upon the broadeſt part of the river, and with great dexterity paſſed his legions over. Having thus gained new ſupplies of proviſions and men, he made a feint as if he intended to diſtreſs the enemy in turn, by cutting off their ſupplies; and for this purpoſe he began to throw up entrenchments and cut ditches, as if to turn the courſe of the river into a different channel. Theſe preparations ſo intimidated the enemy, that they reſolved to decamp by night: but Cæſar, who had intimation of their deſign by his ſpies, purſued them with a ſmall part of his army, and forcing them to ford the river, before they had time to rally on the other ſide, appeared with the main body of his forces to receive them. Thus hemmed in on both ſides, they could neither get forward nor return to their former camp. By theſe means he reduced them to ſuch extremity of hunger and thirſt, that they were obliged to yield at diſcretion. But clemency was his favourite virtue; he diſmiſſed them all with the kindeſt profeſſions, and ſent them home to Rome, loaded with ſhame and obligations, to publiſh his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus, in the ſpace of about forty days, he became maſter of all Spain; and then departing for Marſeilles, obliged that city to ſurrender at diſcretion. He pardoned the inhabitants, as he ſaid, chiefly upon account of their name and antiquity;

quity; and leaving two legions in that garriſon, returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens upon this occaſion received him with freſh demonſtrations of joy, and created him dictator and conſul; but the firſt of theſe offices he laid down after he had held it but eleven days. His deſign in accepting it was probably to ſhow the people with what readineſs he could reſign it.

While Cæſar was thus employed, Pompey was equally active in making preparations in Epirus and Greece to oppoſe him. All the monarchs of the Eaſt had declared in his favour, and ſent very large ſupplies. He was maſter of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five hundred large ſhips, under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. He was alſo ſupplied with large ſums of money, and all the neceſſaries for an army, from the tributary provinces round him. He had attacked Anthony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæſar in that part of the empire, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the former was obliged to fly, and the latter was taken priſoner. Crowds of the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens and nobles from Rome came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred ſenators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whoſe approbation of his cauſe was equivalent to an army. Theſe aſſiſted him with their countenance and advice, and by their in-

fluence it was determined that no Roman citizen ſhould be put to death, excepting in battle; and that no town ſubject to the Roman empire ſhould be plundered by the conquerors. All theſe advantages, both of ſtrength and council, drew the wiſhes of mankind to his cauſe, and raiſed an oppoſition that threatened Cæſar with ſpeedy deſtruction.

Notwithſtanding ſuch preparations againſt him, Cæſar proceeded with his uſual vigour, and with a courage that to ordinary capacities might ſeem to be raſhneſs. He now reſolved to face his rival in the Eaſt, and led his forces to Brunduſium, a ſea-port town of Italy, in order to tranſport them into Greece: but he wanted a fleet numerous enough to carry the whole at once, and it appeared dangerous to weaken his army by dividing it: beſides, it was now the midſt of winter, and very difficult for any veſſels, much more for ſo ſlight a fleet as his was, to keep the ſea; add to this, that all the ports and the ſhores were filled with the numerous navy of his rival, conducted by Bibulus, famous for his knowledge in nautical operations. However, theſe conſiderations could not over-rule his deſire to purſue the war with unremitting aſſiduity; wherefore he ſhipped off five of his twelve legions, which amounted to no more than twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, and, weighing anchor, fortunately ſteered through the

the midſt of his enemies, timing it ſo well that he made his paſſage in one day. He landed at a place called Pharſalus, not daring to venture into any known port, which he was apprehenſive might be poſſeſſed by the enemy. When he ſaw his troops ſafely debarked, he ſent back the fleet to bring over the reſt of his forces; but thirty of his ſhips, in their return, fell into the hands of Pompey's admiral, who ſet them all on fire, even deſtroying the mariners, in order to intimidate the reſt by this cruel example. In the mean time he was employed in taking poſſeſſion of ſuch towns as had declared for his enemy, and in cutting off proviſions from the fleet, which coaſted along that part of the country. But ſtill convinced that the proper time for making propoſals for a peace was after gaining an advantage, he ſent one Rufus, whom he had taken priſoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey, offering to refer their diſpute to the ſenate and people of Rome; but Pompey again rejected the overture, believing the people of Rome to be too much in Cæſar's intereſts to be relied on.

He was raiſing ſupplies in Macedonia when informed of Cæſar's landing upon the coaſts of Epirus: he, therefore, reſolved immediately to march to Dyracchium, in order to cover that place from Cæſar's attempts, as all his ammunition and proviſions were depoſited there. Upon his arrival at that city he began to

to perceive that many of his new-raiſed troops were very little to be depended upon; their ſlowneſs in obeying command, and their numerous deſertions giving him very diſagreeable apprehenſions. In conſequence of this, he obliged them to take an oath, that they would never abandon their general, but follow him through all his fortunes; and being thus ſecure of their attachment, he reſolved to exhauſt his rival by protracting the war, as his reſources were more numerous than thoſe of Cæſar.

The rival armies firſt came in ſight of each other, on the oppoſite banks of the river Apſus; and as both were commanded by the two greateſt generals then in the world, the one renowned for his conqueſt of the Eaſt, the other celebrated for his victories over the Weſtern parts of the empire, a battle was eagerly deſired by the ſoldiers on both ſides. But neither general was willing to hazard it upon this occaſion: Pompey could not rely upon his new levies, and Cæſar would not venture an engagement till he was joined by the reſt of his forces. Accordingly the armies remained in this diſpoſition for ſome days, looking upon each other with all the anxiety of ſuſpence, but with equal confidence of ſucceſs and mutual reſolution.

Cæſar had waited for ſome time with extreme impatience for the arrival of the remainder of

of his army; the whole of his hopes depended upon that re-enforcement, and he had written and ſent ſeveral times to his generals to uſe diſpatch. At laſt, deſpairing of their punctuality, and deſirous of being freed from the anxiety of expectation, he reſolved upon an attempt, that nothing but the extraordinary confidence he had in his good fortune could excuſe. He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and, with all imaginable ſecrecy, went on board a fiſherman's bark at the mouth of the river Apſus, with a deſign to paſs over to Brunduſium, where the reſt of his forces lay, and to conduct them over in perſon. He accordingly rowed off in the beginning of the night, and was got a conſiderable way to ſea, when the wind all of a ſudden changed againſt him: the ſea now roſe in billows of formidable height, and the ſtorm began to increaſe with much violence. The fiſherman, who had rowed all night with great labour, was often for returning, but was diſſuaded by his paſſenger; but, at length, when far advanced on the intended voyage, he found himſelf unable to proceed, and yet too diſtant from land to hope for making good his return: in this interval of deſpondence he was going to give up the oar, and commit himſelf to the mercy of the waves, when Cæſar at laſt diſcovering himſelf, commanded him to row boldly; "Fear nothing (cried he) you carry Cæſar "and

" and his fortune." Encouraged by the preſence of ſo great a man, the fiſherman made freſh endeavours, and got out to ſea; but the ſtorm increaſing ſtill againſt them, he was obliged to make for land, which was not effected without great difficulty. As ſoon as he was on ſhore, Cæſar's ſoldiers, who had, for ſome time, miſſed their general, and knew not what was become of him, flocked joyfully round him, congratulating his eſcape, and kindly upbraiding his attempt in ſo far diſtruſting their courage and affection, as to ſeek out new forces, when they were ſure, without any aid, to conquer his enemies. His excuſes were not leſs tender than their remonſtrances; but the joy of both was ſoon after heightened, by an information of the landing of the troops he had long expected at Apollonia, from whence they were approaching, under the conduct of Anthony and Calenus, to join him; he, therefore, decamped in order to meet them, and prevent, if poſſible, Pompey with his army from engaging them on their march, as he lay on that ſide of the river, where the ſuccours had been obliged to come on ſhore. This diligence was not leſs ſucceſsful than neceſſary; for Pompey had actually made ſome motions to anticipate their junction, and had laid an ambuſcade for Anthony, which failing, he was obliged to retreat, under an apprehenſion of being hemmed in between the two armies;

mies; ſo that the junction was effected the ſame day.

Pompey, being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Aſparagus, nigh Dyracchium, where he was ſure of being ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for his army, by the numerous fleets which he employed along the coaſts of Epirus; where he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners expreſs it) that jutted into the ſea, where alſo was a ſmall ſhelter for ſhips, where few winds could annoy them: in this place being moſt advantageouſly ſituated, he immediately began to entrench his camp; which Cæſar perceiving, and finding that he was not likely ſoon to quit ſo advantageous a poſt, began to entrench alſo behind him, cauſing magazines of corn to be made in all parts not already waſted by the enemy's forces. Yet, notwithſtanding all his care, proviſions began to be very ſcarce in Cæſar's army: his men were obliged to make uſe of beans and barley, and a root called Chara, which they mingled with milk; but they had long been uſed to greater hardſhips than theſe, ſo that they bore all with their accuſtomed patience, remembering what great honours they had often gained after a courſe of ſuch miſeries as theſe. The inconveniencies that were like to follow, however, put Cæſar upon a new deſign. All beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land ſide, was hilly and ſteep;

ſteep; wherefore Cæſar built redoubts upon the hills, ſtretching round from ſhore to ſhore; and then cauſed lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill, by which he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped by this blockade, to force his opponent to a battle which he ardently deſired, and which the other declined with equal induſtry. Not, indeed, but Pompey was continually and earneſtly ſollicited by his officers and the ſenators attending his camp, to hazard a battle; but he knew too well the danger of ſuch an attempt, and accordingly thought only of harraſſing out the enemy by perſeverance. Thus both ſides continued for ſome time employed in deſigns and ſtratagems, the one to annoy and the other to defend. Cæſar's men daily carried on their works to ſtraiten the enemy: thoſe of Pompey did the ſame to enlarge themſelves, having the advantage of numbers; and though they declined coming to a battle, yet they ſeverely galled the enemy by their ſlingers and archers. Cæſar, however, was indefatigable; he cauſed blinds or mantelets to be made of ſkins of beaſts to cover his men while at work; he cut off all the water that ſupplied the enemy's camp, and forage from the horſes; ſo that there remained no more ſubſiſtence for them.

In this ſituation, Pompey at laſt reſolved to break through his lines, and gain ſome other part

part of the country more convenient for encampment. Accordingly, having informed himſelf of the condition of Cæſar's fortifications from ſome deſerters who came over to him, he ordered his light infantry and archers on board his ſhips, with directions to attack Cæſar's entrenchments by ſea, where they were leaſt defended. This was done with ſuch effect, that all the centurions of Cæſar's firſt cohort were cut off, except one; and though Cæſar and his officers uſed their utmoſt endeavours to hinder Pompey's deſigns, yet by means of reiterated attempts, he at laſt effected his purpoſe of extricating his army from his former camp, and of encamping in another place by the ſea, where he had the conveniency of forage and ſhipping alſo. Cæſar being thus fruſtrated in his views of blocking up the enemy, and perceiving the loſs he had ſuſtained, reſolved at laſt to force Pompey to a battle, though upon diſadvantageous terms. The engagement began by attempting to cut off a legion which was poſted in a wood, and this brought on a general battle. This conflict was for ſome time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæſar's army being entangled in the entrenchments of the old camps lately abandoned, began to fall into diſorder; upon which, Pompey purſuing his advantage, they at laſt fled with great precipitation. Great numbers

numbers periſhed in the trenches and on the banks of the river, preſſed to death by their fellows. Pompey purſued his ſucceſſes to the very camp of Cæſar: and now was the criſis of Cæſar's fate; it only depended upon the reſolution and perſeverance of Pompey's men to attack his entrenchments, and utterly deſtroy his whole army: but his uſual good fortune prevailed; Pompey, either ſurpriſed with the ſuddenneſs of his victory, or fearful of an ambuſcade, withdrew his troops into his own camp, and thus loſt the empire of the world. However, his generals and attendants looked upon his preſent ſucceſs as a deciſive determination of the war. Not thinking of future engagements and dangers, they behaved as undoubted conquerors; and, adding cruelty to their confidence, put all their priſoners to the ſword.

Cæſar, however, was not to be intimidated by a ſingle blow; he found that hitherto his attempts to force Pompey to engage him upon equal terms, were ineffectual; he therefore reſolved to appear as if willing to change the whole courſe of the war, and to protract it in his turn: wherefore, calling the army together, he addreſſed them with his uſual calmneſs and intrepidity, in the following manner, "We have no reaſon, my fellow ſoldiers, "to be dejected at our late miſcarriage; the "loſs of one battle, after ſuch numbers as "have

" have been obtained, ſhould rather awaken our " caution than depreſs our reſolution: let us " remember the long courſe of victories which " have been gained by us in Gaul, Britain, " Italy, and Spain; and then let us conſider how " many greater dangers we have eſcaped; which " have only ſerved to increaſe the pleaſure of " ſucceeding victory. If after all theſe renown- " ed exploits and glorious ſucceſſes, one little " diſorder; one error of inadvertency; or, in- " deed, of deſtiny itſelf, has deprived us of our " juſt reward; yet we have ſtill ſufficient force " to enſure it for the future; and, though we " ſhould be deprived of every reſource, yet the " brave have one ſtill left to overcome every " danger; namely to deſpiſe it." After thus encouraging his legions, and degrading ſome of the ſubaltern officers, who were remiſs in their duty, he prepared to lead his forces from their camp, and to make his retreat to Apollonia, where he intended to refreſh and recruit his army. Having, therefore, cauſed his baggage to go on before, he followed at the head of his ſoldiers; and, though purſued by Pompey, yet having the advantage of ſetting off eight hours before him, he effected his intention.

In the mean time Domitius, one of his lieutenants, ſtationed in Macedonia with three legions, was in danger of being ſurpriſed by the ſuperior forces of the enemy; Cæſat reſolved, therefore,

to join him with all expedition; and, after having refreſhed his army, ſet forward with the utmoſt diſpatch. Pompey was in pretty much the ſame circumſtances of apprehenſion; for Scipio, one of his lieutenants, was in Theſſaly, at the head of the Syrian legion; and he was fearful, leſt Cæſar's march was intended to cut off this body of troops before their junction. Thus each general marched with all the diligence poſſible, to ſecure their friends, and ſurpriſe their enemies. Cæſar's expedition was moſt ſucceſsful; he was joined by Domitius, upon the frontiers of Theſſaly; and thus, with all his forces united, he marched directly to Gomphi, a town that lies farther within that province. But the news of his defeat at Dyracchium having reached this place before him, the inhabitants, who had before promiſed him obedience, now changed ſides; and, with a degree of baſeneſs equal to their imprudence, ſhut the gates againſt him. Cæſar was not to be injured with impunity: wherefore, having repreſented to his ſoldiers the great advantage of forcing a place ſo very rich, he ordered the machines for ſcaling to be got ready; and, cauſing an aſſault to be made, proceeded with ſuch vigour, that, notwithſtanding the great height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours time. Cæſar left it to be plundered, and, without delaying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another

town of the ſame province, which yielded at his approach. By this means, he ſoon became poſſeſſed of all Theſſaly, except Lariſſa, which was garriſoned by Scipio, with his legion, who commanded for Pompey.

During this interval, Pompey's officers, being grown inſupportably vain upon their late victory, were continually ſolliciting their commander to come to a battle: every delay became inſupportable to them; they preſumed to aſſert, that he was willing to make the moſt of his command, and to keep the numerous body of ſenators and nobles, that followed his fortunes, ſtill in ſubjection. Confident of victory, they divided all the places in the government among each other; and portioned out the lands of thoſe whom, in imagination, they had already vanquiſhed. Nor did revenge leſs employ their thoughts, than ambition and avarice: this was not confined to ſuch only as had taken up arms againſt them, but to thoſe who continued neuter, and had not ſided with either party. The proſcription was actually drawn up, not for the condemnation of individuals, but of whole ranks of the enemy; it was even propoſed, that all the ſenators in Pompey's army ſhould be appointed judges over ſuch as had either actually oppoſed, or, by their neutrality, had failed to aſſiſt their party. Pompey, being thus ſurrounded by men of weak heads and eager

expectations, and inceſſantly teaſed with importunities to engage, found himſelf too irreſolute to oppoſe their ſollicitations; and therefore renounced his own judgement, in compliance with thoſe about him; and gave up all ſchemes of prudence for thoſe dictated by avarice and paſſion. Advancing into Theſſaly, within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he encamped upon the plains of Pharſalia, where he was joined by Scipio, his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. There he awaited the coming up of Cæſar, reſolved upon engaging, and upon deciding the fate of the empire at a ſingle battle.

Cæſar had employed all his art for ſome time in ſounding the inclinations of his legions, and providing for their ſafety in caſe of miſcarriage; but, at length, finding them reſolute and vigorous, he cauſed them to advance towards the plains of Pharſalia; where Pompey was encamped. The approach of theſe two great armies, compoſed of the beſt and braveſt troops in the world, together with the greatneſs of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, though with different expectations. Pompey's army, being moſt numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory; Cæſar's, with better aims, conſidered only the means of obtaining it: Pompey's army depended upon their numbers, and their many

generals;

generals; Cæſar's, upon their own diſcipline, and the conduct of their ſingle commander; Pompey's partizans hoped much from the juſtice of their cauſe; Cæſar's alledged the frequent propoſals which they had made for peace without effect.

Thus the views, hopes, and motives of both ſeemed different, but their hatred and ambition were the ſame. Cæſar, who was generally foremoſt in offering battle, led out his army in array to meet the enemy; but Pompey, either ſuſpecting his troops, or dreading the event, kept his advantageous ſituation for ſome time: he drew, indeed, ſometimes out of his camp, but always kept himſelf under his trenches, at the foot of the hill near which he was poſted. Cæſar, being unwilling to attack him at a diſadvantage, reſolved to decamp the next day, hoping to haraſs his antagoniſt, whoſe troops were not able to ſuſtain the fatigues of duty; and in expectation that, as the enemy would not fail following him, he might find ſome happier opportunity of coming to an engagement. Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents ſtruck, when word was brought him, that Pompey's army had quitted their entrenchments, and had advanced farther into the plain than uſual; ſo that he might engage them at leſs diſadvantage. This was the juncture that Cæſar had long wiſhed for in vain; ever ſince he had landed in Greece,

he had been employed in endeavours to draw on a general engagement, and feared nothing ſo much as to protract the war: whereupon he now cauſed his troops, that were upon their march, to halt; and with a countenance of joy informed them, that the happy time was at laſt come, which was to crown their glory and terminate their fatigues. After this he drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle. His forces were much inferior to thoſe of Pompey, whoſe army amounted to above forty-five thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe; that of Cæſar not exceeding twenty-two thouſand foot, and about a thouſand horſe. This diſproportion, particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæſar with apprehenſions; wherefore he had ſome time before picked out the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt of his foot ſoldiers, and accuſtomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their aſſiſtance, his thouſand horſe was a match for Pompey's ſeven thouſand, and had actually got the better in a ſkirmiſh that happened between them ſome days before.

Pompey, on the other hand, had ſtrong expectations of ſucceſs; he boaſted in council, that he could put Cæſar's legions to flight, without ſtriking a ſingle blow; preſuming that, as ſoon as the armies formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greateſt expectations,

pectations, would out-flank and ſurround the enemy. Labienus commended this ſcheme of Pompey; alledging alſo, that the preſent troops, of which Cæſar's army was compoſed, were but the ſhadow of thoſe old legions that had fought in Britain and Gaul; that all the veterans were worn out, and had been replaced by new levies, raiſed in a hurry, in Ciſalpine Gaul. To increaſe the confidence of the army ſtill more, he took an oath, which the reſt followed him in, never to return to the camp but with victory. In this diſpoſition, and under theſe advantageous circumſtances, Pompey led his troops to battle.

Pompey's order of battle was good and well judged. In the centre, and on the flanks, he placed all his veterans, and diſtributed his new-raiſed troops between the wings and the main body. The Syrian legions were placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio; the Spaniards, on whom he greatly relied, were on the right, under Domitius Ænobarbus; and on the left were ſtationed the two legions, which Cæſar had reſtored in the beginning of the war, led on by Pompey; becauſe from thence he intended to make the principal attack; and for the ſame reaſon he had there aſſembled all his horſe, ſlingers, and archers, of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Eni-

peus. Cæſar likewiſe divided his army into three bodies under three commanders: Domitius Calvinus being placed in the centre, and Mark Anthony on the left, while he led on the right wing, which was to oppoſe the left, commanded by Pompey. It is remarkable, that Pompey put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which were diſciplined and inſtructed by Cæſar: an inconteſtable proof how much he valued them above any of the reſt of his army. Cæſar, on the contrary, placed himſelf at the head of his tenth legion, that had owed all its merit and fame to his own training. As he obſerved the enemy's numerous cavalry to be all drawn to one ſpot, he gueſſed at Pompey's intention; to obviate which he made a draft of ſix cohorts from his rear line, and forming them into a ſeparate body, concealed them behind his right wing, with inſtructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horſe, as was cuſtomary, but to keep them in their hands and puſh them directly in the faces and the eyes of the horſemen, who, being compoſed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, valued themſelves upon their beauty, and dreaded a ſcar in the face more than a wound in the body. He, laſtly, placed his ſmall body of cavalry ſo as to cover the right of the tenth legion, ordering his right line not to march till they had

had received the ſignal from him. And now the fate of the empire of Rome was to be decided by the greateſt generals, the braveſt officers, and the moſt expert troops that mankind had ever ſeen till that hour. Each private man in both armies was almoſt capable of performing the duty of a commander, and ſeemed inſpired with a deſire to conquer or die.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their men, raiſing their hopes, and leſſening their apprehenſions. Pompey repreſented to his men, That the glorious occaſion which they had now beſought him to grant was now before them; "and, in-"deed (cried he) what advantages could you "wiſh over an enemy that you are not now poſ-"ſeſſed of? Your numbers, your vigour, a late "victory, all aſſure a ſpeedy and an eaſy conqueſt "of thoſe haraſſed and broken troops, com-"poſed of men worn out with age, and impreſt "with the terrors of a recent defeat; but there "is ſtill a ſtronger bulwark for our protection "than the ſuperiority of our ſtrength—the juſ-"tice of our cauſe. You are engaged in the "defence of liberty and of your country; you "are ſupported by its laws, and followed by its "magiſtrates; you have the world ſpectators "of your conduct, and wiſhing you ſucceſs: "on the contrary, he whom you oppoſe is a "robber and oppreſſor of his country, and al-

"moſt

" moſt already ſunk with the conſciouſneſs of " his crimes, as well as the bad ſucceſs of his " arms. Shew, then, on this occaſion, all that " ardour and deteſtation of tyranny that ſhould " animate Romans, and do juſtice to mankind." Cæſar, on his ſide, went among his men with that ſteady ſerenity for which he was ſo much admired in the midſt of danger. He inſiſted on nothing ſo ſtrongly to his ſoldiers, as his frequent and unſucceſsful endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the blood he was going to ſhed, and pleaded only the neceſſity that urged him to it. He deplored the many brave men that were to fall on both ſides, and the wounds of his country, whoever ſhould be victorious. His ſoldiers anſwered his ſpeech with looks of ardour and impatience; which obſerving, he gave the ſignal to charge. The word on Pompey's ſide was, Hercules the invincible: that on Cæſar's, Venus the victorious. There was only ſo much ſpace between both armies as to give room for fighting wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the firſt ſhock without moving out of their places, expecting the enemies ranks to be put into diſorder by their motion. Cæſar's ſoldiers were now ruſhing on with their uſual impetuoſity, when perceiving the enemy motionleſs, they ſtopped ſhort, as if by general conſent, and halted in the midſt of their career.

career. A terrible pauſe enſued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other with mutual terror and dreadful ſerenity: at length, Cæſar's men having taken breath, ran furiouſly upon the enemy, firſt diſcharging their javelins and then drawing their ſwords. The ſame method was obſerved by Pompey's troops, who as vigorouſly ſuſtained the attack. His cavalry alſo were ordered to charge at the very onſet, which, with the multitude of archers and ſlingers, ſoon obliged Cæſar's men to give ground, and get themſelves, as he had foreſeen, upon the flank of his army: whereupon Cæſar immediately ordered the ſix cohorts, that were placed as a re-inforcement, to advance; and repeated his orders, to ſtrike at the enemies faces. This had its deſired effect; the cavalry, who thought they were ſure of victory, received an immediate check: the unuſual method of fighting purſued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the viſages of the aſſailants, and the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate the enemies ſo much, that, inſtead of defending their perſons, their only endeavour was to ſave their faces. A total route enſued of their whole body, which fled in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and ſlingers, who were thus abandoned, were cut to pieces. Cæſar now commanded the cohorts to purſue their ſucceſs, and advancing,

advancing, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank: this charge the enemy withſtood for ſome time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by freſh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer reſiſt, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the ſtrangers, though Pompey's right wing ſtill valiantly maintained their ground. Cæſar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his uſual clemency, cried out to purſue the ſtrangers, but to ſpare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms and received quarter. The greateſt ſlaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all ſides, but principally went for ſafety to the camp. The battle had now laſted from the break of day till noon, the weather being extremely hot; nevertheleſs, the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general, who thought his victory not complete till he was maſter of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at the head of his troops, he called upon them to follow and ſtrike the deciſive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for ſome time made a formidable reſiſtance; particularly a great number of Thracians and the other barbarians, who were appointed for its defence; but

nothing could reſiſt the ardour of Cæſar's victorious army; they were at laſt driven from their trenches, and all fled to the neighbouring mountains.

Cæſar ſeeing the field and camp ſtrewed with his fallen countrymen, was ſtrongly affected at ſo melancholy a proſpect, and could not help crying out to one that ſtood near him "They "would have it ſo." Upon entering the enemies camp, every object preſented freſh inſtances of the blind preſumption and madneſs of his adverſaries: on all ſides were to be ſeen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and ſide-boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the higheſt luxury, and ſeemed rather preparatives for a banquet, or the rejoicing for a victory, than the diſpoſitions for a battle. A camp ſo richly furniſhed, might have been able to engage the attention of any troops but Cæſar's; there was ſtill ſomething to be done, and he would not permit them to purſue any other object than their enemies, till they were entirely ſubdued. A conſiderable body of theſe having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his ſoldiers to join him in the purſuit, in order to oblige the enemy to ſurrender. He began by encloſing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a poſt which was not tenable for want of water, and

and endeavoured to reach the city of Lariſſa. Cæſar led a part of his army by a ſhorter way, and intercepted their retreat, drawing up in order of battle between them and the city. However, theſe unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which a rivulet ran which ſupplied them with water. Now night approaching, Cæſar's troops were almoſt ſpent, and ready to faint with their inceſſant toil ſince morning, yet he prevailed upon them once more to renew their labours, and to cut off the rivulet that ſupplied the defendants. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of ſuccour or ſubſiſtence, ſent deputies to the conqueror, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion. During this interval of negociation, a few ſenators who were among them, took the advantage of the night to eſcape, and the reſt next morning gave up their arms, and experienced the conqueror's clemency. In fact, he addreſſed them with great gentleneſs, and forbade his ſoldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them. Thus Cæſar by his conduct gained the moſt complete victory that had ever been obtained; and by his great clemency after the battle, ſeemed to have deſerved it. His loſs amounted to but two hundred men; that of Pompey to fifteen thouſand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twenty-four thouſand men ſurrendered themſelves priſoners

of

of war and the greateſt part of theſe entered into Cæſar's army, and were incorporated with the reſt of his forces. As to the ſenators and Roman knights who fell into his hands, he generouſly gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper; and as for the letters which Pompey had received from ſeveral perſons who wiſhed to be thought neutral, he burnt them all without reading them, as Pompey had done upon a former occaſion. Thus having performed all the duties of a general and a ſtateſman, he ſent for the legions which had paſſed the night in the camp, to relieve thoſe which had accompanied him in the purſuit, and being determined to follow Pompey, began his march, and arrived the ſame day at Lariſſa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly ſhown ſuch inſtances of courage and conduct, when he ſaw his cavalry routed, on which he had placed his principal dependence, he ſeemed to have loſt his reaſon. Inſtead of thinking how to remedy this diſorder by rallying ſuch troops as fled, or by oppoſing freſh troops to ſtop the progreſs of the conquerors, being totally amazed by this firſt blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the iſſue of an event, which it was his duty to direct, not to follow: there he remained for ſome moments without ſpeaking, till being told, that the camp was attacked, "What "(ſays he) are we purſued to our very entrench-"ments?"

" ments?" and immediately quitting his armour for a habit more ſuited to his circumſtances, he fled on horſeback to Lariſſa; from whence, perceiving he was not purſued, he ſlackened his pace, giving way to all the agonizing reflections which his deplorable ſituation muſt naturally ſuggeſt. In this melancholy manner he paſſed along the vale of Tempe, and purſuing the courſe of the river Peneus, at laſt arrived at a fiſherman's hut, in which he paſſed the night. From thence he went on board a little bark, and keeping along the ſea ſhore, he deſcried a ſhip of ſome burthen preparing to ſail, in which he embarked, the maſter of the veſſel ſtill paying him the homage which was due to his former ſtation. From the mouth of the river Peneus, he ſailed to Amphipolis, where finding his affairs deſperate, he ſteered to Leſbos, to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there, at a diſtance from the dangers and hurry of the war. She, who had long flattered herſelf with the hopes of victory, felt the reverſe of her fortune in an agony of diſtreſs: ſhe was deſired by the meſſenger, whoſe tears, more than words, proclaimed the greatneſs of her misfortunes, to haſten, if ſhe expected to ſee Pompey, with but one ſhip, and even that not his own: her grief, which before was violent, became then inſupportable; ſhe fainted away, and lay a conſiderable time without

any ſigns of life. At length, recovering herſelf and reflecting it was now no time for vain lamentations, ſhe ran quite through the city, to the ſea-ſide. Pompey received her without ſpeaking a word, and for ſome time ſupported her in his arms in ſilent deſpair. After a pauſe of long continuance, they found words for their diſtreſs; Cornelia imputed to herſelf a part of the miſeries that were come upon them, and inſtanced many former misfortunes of her life. Pompey endeavoured to comfort her, by repreſenting the uncertainty of human affairs, and from his preſent unexpected wretchedneſs, teaching her to hope for as unexpected turn of good fortune. In the mean time, the people of the iſland, who had great obligations to Pompey, gathered round them, joined in their grief, and invited them into their city. Pompey, however, declined their invitation, and even adviſed them to ſubmit to the conqueror. "Be under no apprehen-
"ſions (cried he) Cæſar may be my enemy,
"but ſtill let me acknowledge his moderation
"and humanity." Cratippus, the Greek philoſopher, alſo came to pay his reſpects. Pompey, as is but too frequent with perſons under misfortunes, complained to him of Providence. Cratippus, who was a man of genius, and underſtood the world, declined entering deeply into the argument, rather ſatisfied with ſupply-

ing new motives to hope, than combating the preſent impiety of his deſpair.

Having taken in Cornelia, he now continued his courſe, ſteering to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſtopping no longer than was neceſſary to procure proviſions at the ports that occurred in his paſſage. He came before Rhodes, but the people of this city were changed with his fortunes, againſt him. From thence he went to Atilia, where he was joined by ſome ſoldiers and ſhips of war. However, theſe were nothing againſt the power of his rival, from the activity of whoſe purſuit he was in continual apprehenſions. His forces were broken, and too much diſperſed to be ever collected again; his only hopes, therefore, lay in the aſſiſtance of the kings who were in his alliance, and from theſe only he could expect ſecurity and protection. He was inclined to retire to claim the aſſiſtance of the Parthians; others propoſed Juba, king of Numidia; but he was at laſt prevailed upon to apply to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to whoſe father Pompey had been a conſiderable benefactor. Accordingly, he left Cilicia, where he then was; then, ſteering for the kingdom of Egypt, came in view of the coaſt of that country, and ſent to the young king, to implore protection and ſafety. Ptolemy, who was a minor, had not the government in his o'n hands, but he and his kingdom were under the direction of Photinius,

Photinius, an eunuch, and Theodotus, a maſter of rhetorick. Before theſe, therefore, Pompey's requeſt was argued; before ſuch mean and mercenary perſons was to be determined the fate of one, who, but a few days before, had given law to kingdoms. The opinions of the council were divided; gratitude and pity inclined ſome to receive him; whilſt others, more obdurate or more timorous, were for denying him entrance into the kingdom. At length, Theodotus, as if willing to diſplay his eloquence, maintained, that both propoſals were equally dangerous; that to admit him, was making Pompey their maſter, and drawing on them Cæſar's reſentment; and by not receiving him, they offended the one, without obliging the other: that, therefore, the only expedient left, was to give him leave to land, and then to kill him: this would at once oblige Cæſar, and rid them of all apprehenſions from Pompey's reſentments: "for," concluded he, with a vulgar and malicious joke, "dead dogs can never bite."

This advice prevailing in a council compoſed of the ſlaves of an effeminate and luxurious court, Achillas, commander of the forces, and Septimius, by birth a Roman, and who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to carry it into execution. Accordingly, attended by three or four more, they went

into a little bark, and rowed towards Pompey's ſhip, which lay about a mile from the ſhore. When Pompey and his friends ſaw the boat moving from the ſhore, they began to wonder at the meanneſs of the preparations to receive him, and ſome even ventured to ſuſpect the intentions of the Egyptian court. But before any thing could be determined, Achillas was come to the ſhip's ſide, and in the Greek language welcomed him to Egypt, then invited him into the boat, alledging, that the ſhallows prevented larger veſſels from coming to receive him. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept at his departure, and having repeated two verſes of Sophocles, ſignifying, that he who truſts his freedom to a tyrant, from that moment becomes a ſlave, gave his hand to Achillas, and ſtept into the bark, with only two attendants of his own. They had now rowed from the ſhip a conſiderable diſtance, and as during that time they all kept a profound ſilence, Pompey, willing to begin the diſcourſe, accoſted Septimius, whoſe face he recollected. "Methinks, friend (cried he) that "you and I were once fellow ſoldiers together." Septimius gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or inſtancing the leaſt civility. Pompey, therefore, took out a paper, on which he had minuted a ſpeech he intended to make to the king, and began reading it. In this

manner they approached the ſhore; and Cornelia, whoſe concern had never ſuffered her to loſe ſight of her huſband, began to conceive hope, when ſhe perceived the people on the ſtrand crowding down along the coaſts, as if anxious to receive him; but her hopes were ſoon deſtroyed; for that inſtant, as Pompey roſe, ſupporting himſelf upon his freedman's arm, Septimius ſtabbed him in the back, and was inſtantly ſeconded by Achillas.

Pompey, perceiving his death inevitable, diſpoſed himſelf to meet it with decency, and covering his face with his robe, without ſpeaking a word, with a ſigh, reſigned himſelf to his fate. At this horrid ſight, Cornelia ſhrieked ſo loud as to be heard on ſhore; but the danger ſhe was in did not allow the mariners time to look on; they immediately ſet ſail, and the wind proving favourable, fortunately eſcaped the purſuit of the Egyptian gallies. In the mean time, Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, cauſed it to be embalmed, the better to preſerve its features, deſigning it for a preſent to Cæſar. The body was thrown naked on the ſtrand, and expoſed to the view of all whoſe curioſity led them to examine it. However his faithful freedman, Philip, ſtill kept near it, and when the crowd was diſperſed he waſhed it in the ſea, and looking round for materials to burn it, he perceived the wreck

of a fiſhing-boat, of which he compoſed a pile. While thus piouſly employed, he was accoſted by an old Roman ſoldier, who had ſerved under Pompey in his youth. "Who "art thou (ſaid he) that art making theſe "humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having anſwered, that he was one of his freedmen, "Alas! (replied the ſoldier) permit "me to ſhare in this honour: among all the "miſeries of my exile, it will be my laſt "ſad comfort, that I have been able to aſſiſt "at the funeral of my old commander, and "touch the body of the braveſt general that "ever Rome produced." After this, they joined in giving the corpſe the laſt rites, and collecting his aſhes, buried them under a little riſing earth, ſcraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inſcription: "He, whoſe merits deſerve a tem-"ple, can now ſcarce find a tomb."

Such was the end, and ſuch the funeral, of Pompey the Great; a man who had many opportunities of enſlaving his country, but rejected them all. He was fonder of glory than of power, of praiſe than command, and was more vain than ambitious. His talents in war were every way ſuperior to thoſe of his cotemporaries, except Cæſar; it was, therefore, his peculiar misfortune to contend with a man, in whoſe preſence all other military merit loſt its luſtre. Whether

his aims during the laſt war were more juſt than Cæſar's muſt for ever remain doubtful; certain it is, that he frequently rejected all offers of accommodation, and began to talk of puniſhment, before he had any pretenſions to power. But whatever might have been his intentions, in caſe of victory, they could not have been executed with more moderation than thoſe of Cæſar. The corruptions of the ſtate were too great to admit of any other remedy but that of an abſolute government, and it was hardly poſſible that power could have fallen into better hands than thoſe of the conqueror. From Pompey's death, therefore, we may date the total extinction of the republic. From this period the ſenate was diſpoſſeſſed of all its power; and Rome, from henceforward, was never without a maſter.

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